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ART. I.—THE TREATMENT OF THE INSANE.

*The Treatment of the Insane without Mechanical Restraints.* By John Conolly, M.D., Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London, Consulting Physician to the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell. Smith, Elder, & Co.

THE grandeur of human nature is seen in the awful vastness of its degradation: the ruin is tremendous. That some grand moral catastrophe has fallen upon man is as certain a fact as any inscribed upon the rocky fragments of this broken world. Possibly the wreck of worlds and the wreck of man are more nearly related than we imagine. We need not, however, speculate upon the causes that convulsed the former crust of our globe, but we cannot dismiss the question—Why is man's mind permitted to lie waste? We know that this earth has been rendered habitable for us by the violent changes that preceded man's appearance on the scene. The final cause of the present condition of our planet seems to be man himself; the earth was thus prepared that he might be accommodated with a sphere fitted for his faculties. But it is the ruin of these faculties themselves that we witness; it is this sight that tries our faith; we can see no reason for the ruin; and while the sense of the disaster confounds all attempts to explain its purpose, we nevertheless cannot but endeavour to understand why the very highest work of creative power—the very mind that was made to image and reflect the Divine perfections—should itself be shattered. All that pertains to our existence is involved in the inquiry. The ruin of man's works—the grand achievements of his genius and industry—impress us with solemnity; but decay

and debasement are now the natural order of *his* works, and they rather interest than shock our minds. It is, however, far otherwise when we contemplate the Divine image—the mind of man itself, in confusion. The highest result of Almighty energy seems as if smitten by some interfering power from the hand that formed it. It is this contradiction that demands a light that shall reconcile the permission with the appointment of Omnipotence. Without this light our reason takes alarm; our logic is not equal to the occasion; nature owns no principle capable of explaining the difficulty; our syllogisms are applied in vain to account for the ruin of a soul, and the upshot of our thought but refers us back through our inner consciousness to Omnipotence Himself for explanation. Thus, it is faith alone, faith in the faithful Creator, that can sustain our hope, and bid us look onwards in the direction of the growing light. Could a spirit ignorant as any of ourselves, have been told of the state of the elements of this earth ere the six days' work commenced, he could only have waited—the revelation made by those works themselves could alone have explained the mystery. Faith in God as the utterer of light will always lead the mind to expectations consonant with the Divine character as far as it is revealed; and we shall not question that the seeming chaos is to be the ground of future order as much with regard to mind as with regard to matter. A world in confusion, desolate and unadorned, dark as the depths with the clouds upon their bosom, which the spoken Light had not yet touched into life and beauty, is a type of humanity in its ruin. But light has risen, and order has begun. The days of a new creation are advancing; the Sun of righteousness, with healing beneath his wings, is above the clouds, and they will vanish. The Eternal Spirit already moves upon the face of the waters; the elements of death are impregnated with an organizing vitality, and out of the warring elements, alike of mind and matter, life and loveliness are springing into view.

We find it necessary to console ourselves with this conviction after investigating the havoc which disease is making with the faculties of human beings. If we did not believe that the manifestation of Divinity must ever be as light springing out of darkness, life out of death, order out of confusion, good out of evil, God out of man,—we could not endure the visions that arise before us as we contemplate the awful mysteries of insanity. We could neither bear them nor see any reason for looking at them but in this conviction. Without the hopes connected with this faith, our efforts would die. It is the reconciliation of seeming contradictions—in the accomplishment of what no power less than Almighty could effect, that our God



is known. If it were not for this fact revealed to our reason as a necessary article of faith, the terrible history of human derangement would be but as a record intended to confirm despair. But as Omnipotence is revealed as the Creator of material worlds by not only calling them into being, but restoring them from ruin, so is the Omnipotent revealed as the Creator of minds, not only by endowing them with reason, but also in restoring what has been lost, and by erecting a nobler state of being out of disorder; for it is the business of the Almighty to manifest himself as a saviour in the reconciliation of all things to himself as the Perfect One.

As far as our reason and experience enable us to discern, it appears that the training of man's higher faculties, as at present constituted, requires that they should be exercised in enduring, and resisting, and overcoming evil. Regarding evil as disease in its widest sense—as involving the disorder of man's moral, mental, and physical nature—we assert that the remedial agencies put into our hands by the Author of Christianity are in fact so many methods of preventing or of curing derangement. As in the orderly on-going of man's mind, in keeping with the laws of wisdom or benevolence as evinced in the Divine works and the eternal word, man's capacity for intelligent action and happiness is growingly manifested, so in the innumerable disorders of mind and body, directly or indirectly resulting from the breach of those laws, man's capacity for error and suffering is in like manner revealed. Hence the study of insanity is the study, not only of the working of souls in confusion, but also of the causes and the cure of that disorder. It is, therefore, especially a proper subject of thought to Christian men. Probably, it is scarcely necessary to enforce this observation, since it is sufficiently evident that disease and disorder are the immediate effects of disregarding God's laws, either through ignorance or perversion of will; and it is equally evident that recovery cannot be secured unless by that rectification, both of the will and the understanding, which leads directly to the fulfilment of those laws. The spirit of Emmanuel is the spirit of salvation, because in curing evil it confers sanity. And as complete salvation is perfect health of soul and body, so the doctrines of salvation are truly exhibited only so far as they are brought to bear upon the recovery of man from disease, alike of mind and body. "I will, be thou whole," and, "Go, sin no more," are words of one meaning.

A right state of reason is a right state both of thought and will, that is to say, it is a coincidence of the created mind with the known attributes of the Divine Mind, morally speaking. This we are well assured is not acquired scientifically, and yet

it must be taught and learned in order to the successful treatment of wrong reason. Whatever be the causes which are now so constantly confounding human reason and perverting human will, it is evident that they commence and continue to operate through means, both physical and spiritual, that lie far beyond our scrutiny. It is, therefore, demonstrable that the Giver of moral law and the Author both of matter and of mind, must himself work in both in order to man's recovery. We as Christians firmly believe that we only require to work with God—that is to do what He commands—to insure the perfect success of every sanitary effort ; and with regard to any amount of success in the treatment of that most awful of human maladies, insanity, we think it can be clearly shown to have been in exact relation to the observance of those rules in its management which have most fully coincided with the precepts of Christianity.

Let us fortify our spirits, and see what we or those we love may become. We will imagine ourselves in a large room, standing, as we have stood, in the midst of many human beings, not one of whom can think with us, and whose faces, as they turn towards our own, have no correspondence with us, answering not to our smiles, nor looking for our thoughts, but intent only on some phantom idea that claims all their attention, and keeps their hearts beyond the reach of our observation. There is a tall man with a book in his hand, into the contents of which he seems to look with all his soul, but yet without perceiving a word in it. He thinks himself a divinely commissioned minister, and puts the interpretation of his madness upon the records of the remembered Word, exhorting an imaginary audience to repentance, with intense and disjointed eloquence, to which not a soul that hears is listening. The book he holds is *Blackwood's Magazine* turned upside down, but he thinks it a New Testament. Beside us mutters one with pale, thin lips, of some mysterious personage haunting his steps with blasphemous upbraidings. The horror of guilt kindles his keen, glassy eye, and he wants to escape that he may give himself up to justice, and charge himself with the impossible crimes of his own hallucination. That haggard youth with coal-black, straight hair and lofty brow, labours with despair. He lately attempted suicide ; his burning brain, wearied with the efforts and the hopes of a literary ambition and a disappointed heart, would not let him sleep. He now stands fixed like a statue, not a muscle moving from day to day, an image of hopelessness ; the moving-spring of life seems worn out ; having nothing to hope, he has nothing to desire ; endeavour is at an end, and existence is to him a black blank,

memory and imagination being alike dead. Another believes himself a king, another a prophet, another a divinity, with the weight and wonders of his own small universe dependent on his will. One is all suspicion, another is all openness. This man thinks himself possessor of wealth beyond measure; that, supposes himself a naked savage. A man of seventy believes himself a youth of seventeen, in love with an invisible angel always at his side. In short, there is no conceivable phantasy which may not be found exercising all the force of reality amongst the subjects of diseased imagination. Every modification of sensation may become the basis of an illusive idea; every affection of the heart a source of confirmed delusion, and every faculty of the mind the centre of a fixed and dangerous madness. We have described real cases, but who can realize the facts, and actual thoughts, and feelings, and experiences of any one individual mind either in health or disease? Our human nature is this inconceivable thing,—this capacity of reason learning from every object the thoughts of God, and conversing with love and light,—this perverting spirit also which draws delusion from every utterance of truth, and makes every avenue of perception and every impression derived from God's own works, the exciting cause of terrific mistake, endowing imagination and the very reasoning power itself with ability to convert Divine goodness into torment, and rousing the indomitable will to the pursuit of ideal objects that arise from hell, people the thick darkness, and terminate only in death with its revealed eternities. It is this human nature, in its universal possibilities of light and darkness, that belongs to each one of us, and which He who is the Son of Man and the Son of God, has undertaken to rectify. With this history of God's own earthly mission before us, we can imagine the Healer of all our diseases speaking the word, and reducing each disordered mind at once to a sound state, while sitting in peace at His feet, and drinking in the calm sunlight of His wisdom and His love. And is it not He that inspires the desire and the skill, the science and the energy that bring forth so many from our asylums, with reason restored, to the enjoyment of society, and the touch of kindred and of love? It is He that works; and whether with a word, or with the slower processes of moral and material agencies, we shall see that the success of treating all the maladies of the mind is traceable directly either to the practice of the doctrines of kindness and patience that He taught, or else to the operation of those benevolent ordinances of nature which evince the working of His hand, and are in keeping with His purpose and His precepts as the Saviour.

These observations may seem very mystical to those whose



knowledge of the New Testament is only verbal. We delight to see that the advances of true science comport only with the doctrines of revelation. The records of disorder, both in the vital organization and in the mental economy, demonstrate the truth of man's fall, and they also demonstrate that remedial appliances—for the mind at least—are sought in vain except so far as they are sought in Christian principles. We do not mean that a man may not acquire a correct theory of therapeutics without being a good Christian, but we do mean to say that such a theory can be applied correctly only in a Christian manner, that is, on the principle of observing how God would have us exercise our knowledge in relation of mind to mind. We should not fear to say that a Christian physician, with equal mental powers, would exhibit more tact in the treatment of disease than an infidel, simply because he is more alive to the duty of man to man. Experience confirms this opinion, and we know of no fuller evidence in favour of it than that furnished by the improved method of treating insanity, which is generally a disease both of the mind and the body.

An insane man is helpless in himself: he cannot pursue truth nor goodness; evil and error have him at their mercy. Now let us see how this poor helpless being was treated before science as imbued with Christian principles was brought to bear upon his recovery. Abuse and cruelty are the sum of all that was done to recover the insane for more than 2,500 years. The records of madhouses are the records of barbarism, ignorance, unchristian stupidity, and hardheartiness, in every age and every country, until Pinel, in France, and William Tuke, of York, acting on New Testament principles, effected those reforms which at once ameliorated the condition of the insane, and by this amelioration often cured the insanity itself.

“Up to the middle of last century, and in many cases much later, harmless maniacs were allowed to wander over the country, beggars and vagabonds, affording sport and mockery. If they became troublesome, they were imprisoned in dungeons; whipped, as the phrase was, out of their madness, and then secluded in darkness in the heat of summer, and in the cold and dampness of winter, and forgotten, always half-famished, often starved to death. At length the condition of the mad obtained attention; massive and gloomy mansions were prepared for them. These were but prisons of the worst description. Small openings in the walls, generally unglazed, and whether glazed or not, guarded with strong iron bars; narrow corridors, dark cells, desolate courts, where no tree, nor shrub, nor flower, nor blade of grass grew; solitariness, or companionship worse than solitude; terrible attendants armed with whips, sometimes, as in France, accompanied by savage dogs, and free to impose manacles, and chains, and stripes at their own brutal will; uncleanness, semi-



starvation, the garotte, and unpunished murders: these were the characteristics of such buildings throughout Europe. People looked with awe on the outside of such buildings, and, after sunset, walked far around, to avoid hearing the cries and yells that made night hideous:—

“ ‘ Noise, other than the sound of dance or song,  
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.’ ”—P. 4.

Crime and insanity were formerly treated with equal barbarity. While the penal code exhibited the wild justice of the unchristianized ages, and the idea of recovering the guilty formed no part of prison discipline, it is scarcely surprising that the treatment of insanity then partook of the savage mode of dealing with inconvenient and disorderly characters. Disorders of reason are indeed so generally connected with disorders of the will, that crime and insanity are constantly verging on each other; and it is exceedingly difficult to convince ignorant persons that the common perversities of the deranged are not more under self-control than they are. The pertinent expressions of the insane, and the ingenuity of their reasoning in many cases, together with the strength of wilfulness generally evinced, render it somewhat difficult for hard, uninformed persons to believe that their violence or their obstinacy is altogether involuntary. Thus we find that some of the more brutish amongst the orderlies attending on the sick in the hospitals of Scutari and elsewhere, even under the eyes of the lady-nurses, resented the delirious ravings of the dying soldiers, and refused to help them, even when too weak to lift the cup of drink to their parched lips. Is it then to be wondered at, that cruelty reigned in madhouses when these were committed to the entire care of the ignorant, with no other means of control in their hands than those of inflicting pain, or subduing violence by force? The only wonder is, that murder under such circumstances was not more frequently the result. Our very decided forefathers, who magisterially countenanced the whipping of madness out of men, were not very far from the more decided and equally enlightened method of certain Red Indians, amongst whom the insane are generously knocked on the head.

The first attempt at improvement was to enact laws for the protection of the insane. In 1790, the period of the great Revolution, a law was passed in France which enforced the seclusion and imprisonment of the deranged who were dangerous. Now to prove that this law sprung from fear and not love, and so was likely to be cruel in its effects, it is only necessary to observe that no attempt at cure was proposed in its enactment. All that was aimed at was to guard the less insane public from the outbursts of individual and private madness,—a

precaution but very partially successful during the Reign of Terror. The idea of systematically proceeding to cure insanity did not present itself until 1792, when Pinel, an enlightened and humane physician, was appointed to the Bicêtre in Paris. As his eulogist Parisot observed, with him entered "pity, goodness, and justice." Before this "the insane, the vicious, and the criminal were mingled together, and treated alike. Wretched beings, covered with dirt, were seen crouched down in the narrow, cold, damp cells, where scarcely air or light found way, and where there was neither table, nor chair, nor bench to sit upon, but only a bed of straw very rarely renewed. The attendants on these unhappy lunatics were malefactors,"\* against whose brutality there was no defence.

\* In England, there was New Bethlem in Moorfields, of which we read only that there were chains, manacles, and stocks. A committee appointed to examine its condition declared it to be so loathsome and dirty that it was not fit for any man to enter. In 1770, this madhouse was opened to the gaze of the public at a penny a-head, like a cheap menagerie! In 1774, however, an act was passed for the better regulation of madhouses in England, but that it was sufficiently inefficacious we discover from the fact that thirty years after, Dr. Haslam states that lunatics being supposed under the influence of the moon, were atrociously bound, chained, and flogged at particular periods of the moon's age, to prevent accessions of violence!

Now that fashion, book-learning, accomplishments, and quackeries bewilder all professions, and all the excitements of gambling are distracting our commerce,—while suspicion watches in vain to guard against hypocrisy and fraud, and all life is artificial, both in its pleasures and in its graver pursuits, insanity is gaining upon us with the hurry of the times. It, therefore, becomes a matter of vast importance to learn what corresponding improvements in good sense and science have done towards the prevention and cure of the most prevalent and most miserable of maladies. What has been done for the better has been done very lately. Perhaps the extreme danger of insanity becoming the rule rather than the exception, has at last awakened alarm, and compelled the closer attention of thinking and sound-minded men to the subject. It is horribly instructive to review the curative measures that were until very recently adopted. Dr. Conolly says that he "used to be astonished even seventeen years ago to see humane physicians going round the wards of asylums mere spectators of every form of distressing coercion, without a word of sympathy, or any order for

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\* Conolly, p. 9.

its mitigation. Men's hearts had on this subject become gradually hardened." Restraints became more and more severe, and torture more and more ingenious. Among many cruel devices, an unsuspecting patient was sometimes induced to walk across a treacherous floor; it gave way, and the patient fell into a bath of surprise, and was there half-drowned and half-frightened to death. In some Continental hospitals patients were chained in a well, and the water was allowed gradually to ascend in order to terrify the patient with the prospect of inevitable death! The circulating-swing was a wonder-working machine, for the invention of which Dr. Cox generously gives the credit to Dr. Darwin. This machine turned the patient about at the rate of one hundred times in a minute. It lowered the pulse, produced great suffusion of the face and eyes, and excited excessive evacuations, often followed by fainting, and sometimes by death. Yet this was recommended in bad cases to be used in the dark, with the addition of unusual noises, smells, &c., and that by a benevolent physician in great vogue not long since. All this violence was to subdue mental irritation and over-action of that fine structure, the marvellous brain; that is to say, humane and scientific men very lately so far mistook the laws of mind in relation to nerve, that they actually endeavoured to produce mental repose by inflicting tortures! The peace and quiet produced by the inquisitor's boot and thumbscrew were nothing to the serenity enjoyed amongst the insane when the treatment was all torture! What was the end to be attained after all? It was only restraint. Every vagrant action of the limbs was to be suppressed lest the lunatic should inflict injury on himself and others—a very justifiable, because necessary proceeding. But it was rendered necessary only by ignorance, insufficient aid, and total want of science. The cause of the cerebral excitement, the irritation of mind and brain, was left out of thought. The action and re-action of soul and body were utterly disregarded, until, as we have said, Pinel commenced his great reformation of madhouses by setting the example at the Bicêtre,—treating men as men. Soon after this, the Retreat at York was built by the Society of Friends. Pinel acted on the principles of sound common sense when he introduced "pity, goodness, and justice," into the madhouse. He treated *mad* men as men still. The intimate connexion between good sense and Christian principle is more evident than many suppose. The Friends at York proved this connexion, for it was on Christian principles they carried out the improved methods of managing the insane. They did to others as they would wish to be done by under similar circumstances. Pity, goodness, and justice did their work; the transition was almost miraculous; the raging



demon was cast out of many; and men, whose frenzy made them terrible, sat down in peace. Instead of the mercenary and cruel management that had been the invariable rule in the treatment of madness, the voices of love and wisdom were heard, and light and music entered with them to the gloomiest cell; sympathy took the place of stripes; faith was engaged in the work; the patients were trusted where they could promise; the distracted were diverted from their griefs; hope came, and with hope rest; in short, from this wise confidence, neatness, order, quietness soon prevailed, and furious madness was nearly banished from the place. It was really a place of recovery to thousands who under the old system would have been condemned to the cell until the grave was ready for them.

In Samuel Tuke's admirable account of the Retreat at York, we find the most lucid views and the most graphic descriptions of insanity, together with the most convincing proofs that the true economy of such an asylum, both medical and moral, is founded on Christian principles: this at least is our view of the matter. As Sydney Smith says in his review of this work, "The Quakers always seem to succeed in any institution which they undertake."\* This is high praise. But what is the secret of success in any undertaking? Simply to work on right principles. In this case *good feeling* was one with *good sense*, that is to say, the Quakers did what they felt was right as Christians. They evinced more skill and patience in their endeavours to improve the condition of the degraded, in consequence of a sense of duty rather than a knowledge of science, or because their science was learned from the Book of Proverbs, and from the practice of the precepts of a greater than Solomon. In short, the life of their success, whether in the jail at Philadelphia or the York Retreat, was Christian kindness,—which is just the application of God's own wisdom in dealing with man. The most humane spirit is the most mighty,—*that* is the spirit of Christ. Those who act upon faith in *His* word not only manifest right feeling and right reason, but also find the readiest access to the human heart and understanding, if accessible at all; for if humanity be recoverable, it must be recoverable by the very spirit that constructed humanity. As Sydney Smith says, "When a madman does not do as he is bid, the shortest method, to be sure, is to knock him down." Yes, but what is the readiest method of knocking down a perverse will? that is the question. If a man is not too mad to feel kindness, that will kill the evil spirit in him. And supposing a man labouring under a mistake so terrible that he cannot believe in love, is he

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\* Edinburgh Review, April, 1814.



to be treated as if no human motive was ever to be awakened in him? So rare a case we have not seen, indeed, except in perfect idiocy and dementia. Common madness is excess of sensibility. There is the undue prevalence of some strong human motive, some fear, some hope, some love, some tender desire, oftener unselfish than otherwise, yes, not unfrequently the purest benevolence, and the highest religious sentiment, and the holiest truth, taking irregular hold upon the disordered brain, constitute the peculiar phasis of the madman's dream, and keep him apart wandering without aim in the wilderness of his own thoughts. Think of the tender-hearted Cowper, or the strong-souled Hall, treated with stripes, and pacified with chains; or the refined Collins robbed of his New Testament, and whipped into reason!

If we talk to a somnambulist, or to a sleep-talker, we find that he is not in his senses; his associations, being purely ideal and dreamy, are so far like those of the insane. But we can whisper in his ear, or we can get by some method at his mind, and so supply him with associations more and more in keeping with reality, by working upon his affections until we draw him into fellowship with ourselves, and gradually awaken him to the realities of reason. We find him, however, still actuated by the common motives of our nature in his dreamy and deluded state. This state largely illustrates that of the insane, for mental derangement generally assumes the form of a chronic dream, with the powers of speech and action remaining, only under the dominion of that dream. The moody man, either from excess of brain-action, or from cerebral torpidity, may be so far isolated as to be unable voluntarily to keep step with other minds, but he is still within reach of the words and actions of those about him; if he can still attend, he can be influenced through his sympathies; he is not uncontrollable; he is not beyond recovery; humanity and kindness can still—

“Unlock

The clasping charm, and thaw the numbing spell.”—*Milton*.

When we consider that any disorder of the nervous system may become a source of mental delusion, and that every faculty and every affection may be involved in the hallucination, we can well understand how infinitely complicated is the study of insanity regarded in relation either to metaphysics or to physiology. But still there is a simple law in operation; the disordered mind is so attentive to ideas, induced by states of brain, as to be unable to overcome the difficulty of giving due and consecutive attention to ideas presented through the senses, and the mind so afflicted requires the most skilful aids and appli-

ances to draw it by degrees from its morbid contemplation. About a fifth of the cases arise from disappointed affection, and about an equal number from disappointments in business; many spring from the reckless habits of a bad conscience, fearfully confirming the disturbance of the nerves, many from constitutional causes, either inherited or induced by mismanagement of the body. Not a few are reduced to the most pitiable insanity by the trouble and torment of endeavouring to reconcile truth with error, and by trying to persuade their intellect and their conscience to countenance their own conduct; as when they try, it may be, really to believe some unreasonable religious dogma to which their training, their station in society, or their pride may have bound them as with the force of a most solemn but unconsidered oath. Whatever the cause, the consequence is a habit of thought, more or less fixed, that will not allow due repose to the nervous system. Now, it is manifest from the nature of things, that mere medicine, in the restricted sense, can do no more than mere reasoning in bringing about the cure. The soul cannot be turned from its pursuits by a narcotic, nor will a cathartic remove a painful memory. The condition of body may indeed be rendered more favourable by medicinal assistance; but in order to the mind's working aright, it must be placed in a position so to work. It must have suitable objects presented when able to attend to them. It must have repose, time, and patience, that is, all that kindness can furnish. The exciting causes must be kept out of the way, the clash especially with other minds either too ignorant or too busy kindly to yield in patient firmness to the vagaries of unreason, must, above all things, be avoided. Relations or objects of affection are, of course, peculiarly apt to excite the sensibility of the deranged; and, indeed, they are frequently the causes of perpetuating the malady by their injudicious interference, and by attempts to persuade the insane by dint of argument or personal appeal, that they are mad, if they are not wicked. How should a man in a passion be treated? He must be left to cool. The violent madman is suffering from a prolonged rage, and he must be placed where his wrath may expend itself without injury to himself or others. As Seneca says, "*Si quis insaniam insaniam sic curavi aestimat, magis quam æger insanit.*" But we must remember that he is a sufferer, feeling himself grievously wronged, and incapable of perceiving what is wrong in himself. The mildest form of insanity is still a trouble too real to be cured by argument.

Over-action of the mind leads directly to insanity, but we know too well that it is not so much excess of mental labour steadily following out a purpose, either of ambition or of homely

usefulness, from day to day, that destroys the brain ; it is worry rather than weariness, that does the mischief. Mere labour, whether of mind or body, is the natural preparation for the enjoyment of rest in restoring sleep. Overwork of brain may, however, produce a permanent irritation, and so acting like a physical agency, such as strong drink, tobacco, or bad air, may break the natural order of action, render natural fellowship uncomfortable, and produce a habit of restlessness, simply because the brain has by inordinate stimulation been habitually hindered from resting at the right time. God's law in nature has been neglected, and the necessary consequence follows. Thus, a mighty mind resolves not to allow due slumber to his eyelids until some task is completed ; and, in the meantime, some heart-anxiety is also at work, so that silence and solitude only bring a more intense rush of ideas upon the burning brain. The sense of inability to rest becomes at length intolerable, and desperation suggests that it is only "this mortal coil" that is in the way. If, as in the case of a great mind whose awful exit lately startled us, the brain were predisposed to fear and vigilance, and these morbid feelings tend to the constant reliance on weapons of defence for safety, there is already a state of mind that would repulse an imagined foe at the expense of that foe's life ; and, therefore, such a man would be ready to sacrifice his own body the moment madness suggested that it alone was the impediment to the needed rest.

It is distraction of the heart that breaks the rest, and so directly conducts to derangement, both in its outrageous and its melancholy forms. The man of dominating energy thus becomes frenzied, while the gentle soul droops into a moody gloom. *That* man becomes restless as an untamed tiger in a cage ; *this*, becomes still and silent as a statue ; but in either case a fixed misery sits brooding on the chaotic world of thought. The words of one who experienced the horror, describe his own condition as that of "an inexpressible torture of the feelings, in which the mind was as if broken into fragments ;" and another, better known, in notes plaintive as those the wind might have swept from harps hung on the willows by the waters of Babylon, thus describes his own melancholy :—

"No wounds like those a wounded spirit feels,  
*No cure for such*, till God who makes them, heals.  
 To thee the dayspring and the blaze of noon,  
 The purple evening and resplendent moon,  
 The stars that, sprinkled o'er the vault of night,  
 Seem drops descending in a shower of light,



Shine not, or undesired or hated shine,  
Seen through the medium of a cloud like thine."

—*Cowper's "Retirement."*

Truly, therefore, does this condition demand our deepest commiseration, and the utmost gentleness in its treatment that may be compatible with safety.

We do not forget that pride, more or less predominating, is both the main cause predisposing the human intellect to insanity, and also the chief manifestation of all wrong-mindedness. There is true philosophy in the poetry of Milton, when he represents it to be the acme of Satan's art—

"To reach

The organs of the fancy, and with them to forge  
Illusions, as he list, phantoms and dreams ;  
Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint  
The animal spirits, that from pure blood arise  
Like gentle breaths from river pure, thence raise  
At least distempered, discontented thoughts,  
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,  
Blown up with high conceits, engendering pride."

Madness is doubtless often the mere exaggeration of those evils of the heart of which pride is the mainspring. But how is the madness of pride, or the pride of madness, to be humbled in any of us? Surely not by making slaves of souls and bodies, nor by breaking down the will by torments. Are not tyrants and malefactors all akin, and already imprisoned in that pride and selfishness which the punishments neither of earth nor hell can cure? If the madman's malady is mainly that of wounded pride, how then is it to be met and conquered? We answer at once, *Be kind*. Pride itself is unkindness in the abstract; a self-separation from the demands of kindred beings; and to cure it, there is nothing more necessary than to recover the perverted soul to a true sense or enjoyment of kith and kind—the proper standing of a human spirit in relation to humanity, that is, to the whole family of mankind as equally with himself the object of God's love, and equally susceptible of weal or woe.

There is great practical wisdom in the remarks on the dangers of indulging imagination in solitude, which Johnson puts into the mouth of Imlac. (*Rasselas*, chap. xliii.) Fancy and Pride reign together where Truth does not preside. "He who has nothing external that can divert him, must find pleasure in his own thoughts, and *must conceive himself what he is not; for who is pleased with what he is?* He then expatiates in



boundless futurity, and culls from all imaginable conditions that which, for the present moment, he should most desire, amuses his desires with impossible enjoyments, and *confers upon his pride unattainable dominion.*"

Kindness triumphs over pride and madness by sympathetically exciting its own spirit, not by constraint, but by influence, like the light, by the irresistible might of its own gentleness. The instant a wrong-minded man can be brought in the smallest degree into sympathy with a right-minded man, that instant the right mind gets control over the wrong mind, and that wrong mind begins to exercise a reasonable self-control the instant it feels wrong, which can only be through fellowship with a right mind. Reason is regulated only on the principle of self-respect; and from a feeling that other wills are to be respected, on the same grounds that we ourselves deserve respect, for the capacity of loving and enjoying what is good. Hence, honour *all men* is the maxim alike of sound sense and holy love; and it tells in all the madness of the world.

These remarks strictly apply to the treatment of insanity; and their truth is substantiated by the history before us, both of unsuccessful and successful methods of managing perverted minds.

Pinel and Tuke led the way, as we have said, in the reasonable and Christian treatment of madness. But the system of non-restraint was not fully adopted by them. It was attempted by Charlesworth, but first carried out by Gardiner Hill, and its propriety confirmed, on the largest scale, by Conolly, at Hanwell. It is to Conolly that the public are indebted for the most strenuous efforts to demonstrate, by his writings, and by the better works of a long and successful practice, the great truth, that even furious madness is best managed by gentle kindness; and that without this, whatever be done, the natural means of cure must be nearly altogether wanting. We shall not deem it tedious to go over the ground with this enlightened physician, and see the contrast between the old plan and the new. When we consider what was the state of the insane in England so lately as in 1818, when, after close inspection, Esquirol reported it to France as glaringly bad; and when we remember what it was, as reported by our own Commissioners, only seven years ago, we need not arguments to prove the importance of discussing the matter in the most public manner. By Esquirol, our insane were often found naked, or only protected by straw from the damp pavement on which they were lying. He saw them coarsely fed, without fresh air, without light, without water to allay their thirst, and chained in cells or dens, worse than those in which the Romans

confined wild beasts. The only remedial measures resorted to were seclusion, or fastening to the wall by a chain a foot and a-half long, baths of surprise, or the use of Darwin's rotatory chair, and occasional floggings at the will of the keeper. What was a bath of surprise? Only an unexpected plunge, by force or trick, into a pit full of cold water. Not thirty years since, in certain provincial licensed madhouses, the patients were left without attendants, without warmth, and with only a few potatoes, given them now and then in a wooden bowl. In a large private asylum in London, women were chained to their bedsteads naked, even in the month of December. Dirty patients lay in their cribs naked upon the straw; and their window was an aperture without glass. There was no classification, no employment, no medical treatment, no cleanliness. One towel a week served 170 patients; and some were cleaned only with the mop and cold water, even in the severest weather. Seventy out of 400 were incessantly in irons.

Under such circumstances, we do not wonder that the disappearance of many patients was never accounted for. No one cared for them. It was the business of those who farmed them, to get as much profit out of them as they could. At the Old York Asylum, up to 1813, secrecy was the protection of all its officers. The physicians concealed their medicines, visitors were excluded, and all the managers were ignorant, and utterly without any sense of their duty. Dishonesty and speculation of course prevailed. It was but consistent with this state of things, that during the public inquiry that at length was instituted, an attempt should be made to conceal the iniquities of the place by setting it on fire. In this way, the books and papers of the Old Asylum perished, besides many of the patients.

In Bethlem, in 1815, women were chained by the arm or the leg to the wall, in such a manner as only to allow them to stand up by the bench fixed to the wall, or to sit on it. They had neither stockings nor shoes, and their only covering at best was a blanket-gown, without fastening. Some were offensive in the highest degree; and with those were associated others capable of rational conversation, refined and accomplished, with all their rational powers perfect, except, perhaps, on a single point. Esquirol gives a picture of a man named Norris, in illustration of what he found at Bethlem. His keeper was afraid of him, and so he invented a torture to suit the case. A stout iron ring was rivetted round the patient's neck, and a short chain passed to a ring, made to slide up and down an upright iron bar, inserted into the wall; a stout iron bar, two inches wide, was also inserted round his body, and on each side of his arms so as to pinion them to his body. He could not move a step, he

could not lie, except on his back. Thus he lived for twelve years without change, without exercise, without fresh air, without a sight of the blue heavens or the green earth, till stars and flowers were unknown and unremembered. Yet during much of this time he was perfectly rational. Nothing can more powerfully illustrate the hardening effect of fear, custom, and irresponsible power, than the fact that the authorities of the hospital approved of this outrageous violence to this innocent man. Even physicians witnessed this state of things, day after day, for years, and felt no occasion to complain. Does not such a fact justify the extremest jealousy of admitting any pretext for the use of mechanical restraints, now that we know that they are not necessary? Yet even now, after all the experience of Hanwell, there is a fear of casting off fetters, and substituting vigilance. Handcuffs, and chains, and strait-waistcoats, are, in short, cheaper than skilled attendants; so the system of non-restraint is likely to be condemned by certain farmers of the insane. Of course, iron helps can only be advocated moderately. But if human hands and feet are once more to be left to the pressure of chains and the will of the keeper, who shall say that pity and kindness will not be dispensed with?

The Christian plan of treatment having been found best, why recur to any other? No other plan has succeeded; and we wish to preserve for others the method on which we should wish to be treated ourselves, should loss of reason leave us at the mercy of attendants and physicians.

Whether the Hanwell system of treatment was adopted from Christian principles, or only because it was the most sensible and scientific, it is a fact that, being the mode commending itself to good sense, it proves also to be precisely such as Christian intelligence would prescribe; for the spirit of true science is coincident with that of all truth, and seeing what is, and what ought to be, it seeks to follow the Divine method, and, honestly using Divine means, succeeds in a Divine manner. Hence, the joy and refreshment of reading how the happy results of the non-restraint system are brought about. It is nothing more nor less than curing by kindness—doing right in the gentlest possible manner. Several of the cases recorded by Dr. Conolly, recall that teaching case given in the New Testament to illustrate the love that casts out fear. A poor maniac had been bound and probably beaten by his friends. They had good reason to be afraid of him. They suffered him to burst his bonds. He fled from them, and preferred to live naked amongst the cavern-tombs, torturing himself, and terrifying all who approached him, until, on a certain day, one



who knew him well, came near enough to speak to him. The maniac thought this friend was coming to torment him; but, no; the words of kindest pity fell upon his ear, and a miracle was wrought. That voice—that gentle voice, had in it the authority of heaven; there was a feeling in the words then uttered that bade the possessing demons, named Legion, to go forth to their own place with swine, and to leave the poor lunatic to be clothed, and sit, in a right mind, at Jesus's feet. This is our pattern case; and it teaches us to meet violence, suspicion, and the insanity of every ill temper, by a determination not to be afraid to do good to the best of our ability, though against the will that we would win, and even in spite of our own hearts.

Now take the case of a female patient, admitted into Hanwell. (Page 36.) She is violent and frantic—she dreads some impending punishment—she is to be cut in pieces or burned alive;—and this for crimes, of which she imagines herself accused. With these impressions, her thoughts are bent on suicide, as an expiation, or as a means of escape from suffering. She is immediately released from every ligature, and bond, and fetter. She is surprised at this procedure,—the effect is a speedy tranquillity. But suspicion still lingers in the mind. The patient is taken to the bath-room, and, for the first time, has the comfort of a warm bath; and she expresses remarkable satisfaction. Now, clean and comfortably clothed, she is led to the day-room, and offered inviting food. All the simple furniture of the table is better than in her miserable, struggling life she has ever known. Her looks express the change that has come over the spirit of her dream, and she can scarcely be recognised as the poor, livid wretch, admitted only an hour since. The cure has commenced; but still delusion, anger, fear, so occupy her mind, that the kindest words fail to console. But the attendants limit their interference to the necessities of the case, and take care not to thwart every fidgetty impulse; and so the irritation of the brain gradually wears away, until at length the sufferer becomes capable of fully appreciating the kindness that surrounds her, and her asylum is to her a blessed place.

Dr. Conolly states that he—

“Has repeatedly known private patients, received from some of the worst old-fashioned establishments, reported to be incurably dirty, violent, or dangerous; the true explanation being, that such patients had been kept much in bed, often in darkness, having neither a due supply of good food, nor a proper change of dress. In these circumstances, they become fretful, negligent of cleanliness, reckless, and often violent. Amidst the wildness of madness, they are still,



to a certain extent, sensible of their degraded position; and every feeling is concentrated into hatred of everybody about them, or connected with them. An officer of rank, in a distinguished cavalry regiment, came to an asylum with which I was acquainted, from one in which a more than commonly obstinate attachment to restraints had been maintained. His whole wardrobe consisted of two shirts, one night-shirt, two pairs of stockings, one pair of drawers, and the clothes which he daily wore, and which were old, dirty, and ragged. He appeared surprised when shown into a well-furnished room, and quite astonished when he saw a comfortable dinner before him, and when his tea was decently served in the evening. Patients who have been so negligently cared for, almost always improve when thus respectfully treated. They make an effort to conform to the decent habits of the house, and become civil, and even courteous, in their behaviour. The violent conduct, which caused them to be fastened in restraints, disappears amongst the comforts of their new and better abode."—Page 50.

The great object is to calm the troubled spirits of the insane, and to this end everything should be done regularly and quietly, under the supervision of a physician that will condescend to details, and do all in his power to obtain good-tempered and active attendants—Christian helps, such as manifest the fruits of the spirit—and to keep them so. Having in his mind a comprehensive system of treatment, he deems nothing which forms a part of it beneath his attention; and on the same principle, that he would study to keep a consumptive or an asthmatic patient in an unirritating atmosphere, so would he, while employing every prophylactic and curative appliance, especially endeavour to preserve the insane patient from every influence that can further excite the brain, and to surround him with such as, soothing both body and mind, may favour rest and promote recovery.

In nothing is the value of medical science more manifest than in the treatment of such cases; and if our knowledge of physiology, in relation to the mad, be still far below what it ought to be amongst the licensed guardians of health, it is a matter to be greatly deplored, and to be remedied as speedily as possible. The means suited to the prevention and cure of bodily disorder are in keeping with those best fitted to prevent and ameliorate the maladies of the mind, and it is a Christian duty for every one who can, to understand the nature of those means; but for a medical man to be ignorant of the best management of so prevalent and terrible a malady, is a proof of an awful dereliction, for which our colleges should be made accountable. They ought to demand proofs that all candidates for medical degrees have familiarized themselves with the clinical instruc-

tion of the most successful and intelligent physicians of our lunatic asylums. And how desirable is it that the holder of a medical diploma should be a man of piety—not the piety of a clique, but of character; for as the great Dr. Johnson says, Christian conduct is the only safe guarantee for any man. The calling of the physician is positively a Christian vocation in its very nature, in so far as he is required to learn and to apply whatever can best promote the well-being of humanity. The Great Physician is his pattern. But this higher aspect of medical science is best seen in the facts connected with the treatment of insanity. Bodily disease and mental disorder are, indeed, in general but as interchanging currents; and both really demand the use of physical aids on moral principles. And while the accumulated evidence before us of the successful treatment of insanity, is a positive argument for the truth of Christianity, since it shows that the system of “pity, goodness, and justice”—the system that suppresses anger,\* and prevails, by comforting and encouraging, is the right one; so also does the whole practice of medicine demonstrate that the *vis medicatrix* is one that works best with gentle or soothing means, and by removing all causes of irritation. That these disorders of body and mind, which come under treatment in asylums for the insane, are mostly due to mental distress, may be inferred from the means found most effectual in their removal—such as improved diet and lodging, more comfortable clothing, pure air and genial temperature, cheerful faces, kind and patient attention, a certain amount of indulgence to morbid fancies, and a due alternation of repose and employment. As Dr. Conolly says: “By far the greater number of agents remedial in insanity, gradually influence the mind itself. Asylums, to be really instrumental of cure, must have gardens of flowers, agreeable views, convenient furniture, cheerful attendants, and everything, in short, that may afford comfort and rest, and soothing engagements for the senses.”

The poor often come to the asylums half-starved, and good food is not unfrequently of far more consequence than any medicine to them:—

“Among other patents admitted was a poor tailor’s wife; she had been insane some months, apparently from want of nourishment and

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\* *Irksome* is the old English word for *angry*, and truly an angry temper is the most tiresome and distracting, or deranging, of all dispositions; so that St. Paul might well say, “Fathers, provoke not your children, lest they be discouraged” (Col. iii. 21); or, as Tyndale translates it, “Fathers, rate not youre children, lest they be of a desperate mynde.”

comforts. She was a kind of mad skeleton. Looking as if she might at any moment drop down and die, she still danced and sung, and ran to and fro, and tore her clothes and all ordinary bedding to rags. We had just begun to meet these difficulties, without restraints, and she was indulged in some of her harmless fancies; supplied, among other things, with useless remnants, that she might amuse herself with tearing them into shreds. Good food was given her and porter. She became stouter, and she became calmer; and soon she employed herself in making dresses instead of tearing them. Thus a happy recovery was commencing, when her poor husband came to see her. The sight of him, half-starved and half-clothed, distressed her, and caused a temporary relapse. She became depressed, wept bitterly, and lamented that her husband could not come into Hanwell."—P. 115.

"When my first attempts to convey clinical instruction in the asylum were made, a remarkably fine-looking young woman (æ. 20) was brought in, wearing a strait-waistcoat very tightly put on. Her face was flushed; her eyes were animated; she was extremely noisy and excited; talked loudly, and frequently sung, but was very irascible with everybody who came near her. It was observed that both the wrists and ankles of this young person were ulcerated, as if by having worn iron handcuffs and leg-locks. The strait-waistcoat was taken off, and the patient being put into a warm-bath, ceased to be angry, and expressed her sense of relief in the liveliest terms. The treatment of bodily disorder by gentle medicines, combined with rest, tranquillity, and the general kindness of those about her, soon restored her to perfect health. The mere discontinuance of the restraints, and the friendly reception given to her on admission, had a striking effect; in two days she was introduced to the matron's room to do some needlework. On the third day she was considerably excited, disposed to laugh loudly and long; but influenced by quiet words, and perfectly good-tempered. She complained of those infernal fetters she had worn day and night for three weeks. She rapidly and entirely recovered. No doubt could exist in the minds of observers of this case, that many such, neglected in many miserable asylums, passed on to chronic and incurable stages."—P. 118.

Another young married woman (æ. 25), whose malady resulted from nursing and semi-starvation, was brought in, tied up in complicated restraints, although literally too feeble to stand. Her wrists and ankles were ulcerated, and her toes in a state of mortification. Good food, wine, liberty, fresh air, and the sense of having kind people about her, wrought wonderful effects. She soon became healthy and reasonable. She had a distinct recollection of all the events of her illness, and described her sufferings from the strait-waistcoat by day and the iron handcuffs by night, when both hands and feet were fastened to the bedstead. We might accumulate instances equally striking of the immediate good effects of the non-restraint system, but



since the Hanwell reports and the lucid appeals of Dr. Conolly to the public mind, it is scarcely necessary to do more by way of demonstrating the value of that system than to point attention to the results.

The evening parties of the insane at Hanwell are merely proofs of the necessity of harmless enjoyment as a means of animating the mind, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, to self-control and good feeling. There even the violent restrain themselves for the occasion, the convalescent wear an expression of serene satisfaction, and smiles play like sunshine on the face of the melancholic, and the attendants learn the luxury of doing good. And all this is attained at the cost of a little decoration and a few extra devices for the encouragement of those who have taste for fruit and flowers, music, dancing, tea, toast, and innocent good-fellowship; and who is so mad as to have no taste for any of these things, at least by sympathy with those who can enjoy them?

Any one with a sensible heart, who has ever visited a lunatic asylum, will feel the force of Mrs. Opie's exclamation on seeing a patient there: "What a world of woe is written on that face!" Yes, misery—the slow fire of a smothered wrath—is the prevailing possession of the insane. Whether arising from the perversions of a selfish will, or a sense of actual wrong, or from the misunderstandings of vanity and a love that seeks only to be loved for the sake of self—the most selfish form of all derangement—still the condition is the same; it is the madness of misery—a nervous system that cannot rest—a heart knowing no peace, because without faith in true principles, and finding no bosom on which to repose, and no peaceful engagement either of the affections or the faculties—a soul seeking rest and finding none. What an object of compassion is a human being without confidence either in God or man! It is but a fuller development of what is common to our nature; and yet this nature is the object of Divine law; and this insane, unsatisfied, restless soul is the very being to whom the evangelic message is addressed and adapted:—

"Verè scire est per causas scire."

Truly the seed of insanity, the vital principle of "unreason and unrest," is never to be dislodged from humanity by dint of medical skill, nor by education as a mere system of mnemonics. The rapidly growing necessity for more madhouses will not be stopped till those very principles which alone have been known to cure insanity are brought into full action upon society so as to prevent it. "Pity, goodness, justice," cure insanity in the hands of Pinel, Tuke, and Conolly, by furnishing what the poor

body and soul need; and when these Christian virtues work their way into the hearts and homes of our toiling myriads, the spread of insanity will cease, and not till then:—

“If all people were as careful not to provoke their fellow-creatures to wrath as the officers of good asylums are; were as indulgent to faults, and as accustomed to encourage and aid all attempts at self-control and improvement; and if, which cannot be, the sane were as much preserved as the insane in their retreat, from want and gnawing care,—the world without the walls of such places would far more abound in happiness, and far less in the causes by which so many distracted minds are driven within them for shelter and relief.”—P. 156.

But we must look higher for those means and motives which will enable men to bear with one another in the clash and struggle of their competing worldly interests and passions. It is in the very nature of human activity to aggravate all the evils to which humanity is liable when left to work its own way. Unless curbed by the restraints of a faith that not only teaches a man his duty, but by affording the highest motive, enables him to do it in the best manner, the more intense the intellectual effort, and the more commanding the commerce, the vaster will be the derangements of society. Labour will be undertaken only to find means for the indulgence of lust, and ingenuity be exerted only to delude. So that, after all, it remains with the men who hold the secret of renovating society by Divine truth as a practical thing, to exhibit by all means the vitalizing power of that truth as the only energy that can prevent all other influences from so acting upon man as to render his madness and his misery not only inevitable, but extensive exactly in proportion to the growth of his ability to think and act.

The remarks of Dr. Conolly on education, with a view to the prevention of insanity, are especially valuable as coming from so experienced, practical, and successful a physician:—

“Very little consideration is required to show that in the management of children of tender years, many customs prevail which directly tend to irritate and spoil the growing brain. The system of mental and physical training generally adopted for children and youth is so far from being adapted to secure a sound mind in a sound body as to be little better than a satire on the common sense of mankind. From the very beginning, nothing is so conspicuous as a steady disregard of physiological principles.”

Those institutions in which congenital defect and imbecility are clearly recognised and systematically trained, afford us hints

of practical importance in the management of all young minds. In those schools, the character of each pupil receives serious preliminary inquiry; qualities which appear naturally defective are not forced; faculties congenitally feeble are, if possible, strengthened, but never stimulated to diseased exertion; the moral qualities claim especial consideration; what is faulty is soon associated with a certain shame and sorrow; what is good receives generous encouragement; and while the intellect is trained, the affections are tenderly cultivated. There are juvenile victims, not a few, who with faculties unequally developed, but yet not so marked with malady as to be preserved from ordinary modes of education, are thrown into a crowd where they are unfitted to compete—trampled on and put aside. For many of these it would have been a happy circumstance if they had been educated in institutions where alone the common principles of physiology are applied to the development of the understanding and the control of the feelings. Many a wayward temper, inherited from half-insane ancestors, might be thus soothed and regulated, and many a young person saved years of useless efforts, of errors, and vices. Attempts to amend these inherited or acquired faults by severities are never successful. Unlimited indulgence is equally fatal. Ordinary education, pursued with no higher views than the acquisition of fortune and station, has no salutary results.

All who have peculiar opportunities of ascertaining the mental habits of insane persons of the educated classes, well know that, with few exceptions, their previous studies and pursuits have been superficial and desultory, and often frivolous; the condition of the female mind especially is too often more deplorable still. Not only is it most rare to find them familiar with the best authors of their own country, but most common to find that they have never read a really good author, and that the few accomplishments they possess have been taught for display in society, and not for solace in quieter hours. But there is a frequent perversion of intellectual exercise more fatal than its omission, and which fills our asylums with lady patients, terrified by metaphysical translations and bewildered by religious romances, and who have lost all custom of healthful exertion of body or mind, all love of natural objects, all interest in things most largely influencing the happiness of mankind. A large portion of the moral treatment resorted to in asylums consists in discouragement of the evil habits of mind into which such frivolous and unhappy beings have fallen. Exercise in the open air, customary and general activity, regular hours, a moderate attention to music and other such excitement, protection from fanatical exhortations, and the substitution of sensible



books for the worthless tracts and volumes with which well-meaning friends have generally loaded their boxes, and which are henceforth locked up as so much mental poison. The same kind of care might in many cases have preserved from derangement. (P. 161.) We could wish that the Doctor had named a few of the pernicious tracts and volumes as a warning to those concerned; and it would not have been uninstrusive had he informed us whether the majority of the inmates of Hanwell asylum had ever read tracts of any kind. As far as our knowledge extends, we have reason to believe that the absence of all truly religious instruction has been a marked antecedent of insanity amongst the lower orders. Bibles and prayer-books are no mean helps in confirming convalescents at Hanwell, and preventing relapses; and it is certain that many are daily sustained by religious truth who without a knowledge of the plan of salvation would have sunk into the darkest madness under the weight of trouble and the sense of guilt. Dr. Conolly expresses his pain and surprise that so little interest is taken in education as a means of preventing insanity, and in this we thoroughly sympathize with him. He mentions, with especial approval, the following works as useful helps to those who would carry out physical and moral training together: Dr. Andrew Combe's "Principles of Physiology," Dr. Southwood Smith's "Philosophy of Health," Mr. Charles Bray's work on the "Education of the Feelings," and a small volume on "Man's Power over Himself to Prevent or Control Insanity," by the Rev. John Barlow.

Mrs. Ellis, in her wise work on the "Education of Character," gives us an instructive passage in relation to this subject (p. 26). She informs us that she had been asking a question of the physician of a lunatic asylum in Lancashire, relative to the popular idea that gifted minds are more likely to be deranged than those of more simple structure; his answer was: "We find that our patients, considered as a whole, are not strictly speaking superior in their mental endowments, nor yet inferior. The largest proportion of them are persons in whom no just balance exists; persons in whose character one or more faculty or tendency has overweighed the others, so that the whole being may be said to have been disproportioned and distorted by the exaggeration of some powers to the injury or overthrow of others." "That," he added, "would be the best education, and the greatest blessing to mankind, which should bring early into constant exercise and use all the different faculties of the entire being." We take this to mean that the human brain is in the best condition for the improvement both of the intellect and the heart when engaged in acquiring a knowledge of God's

works in creation, providence, and grace, since these are in fact divinely adapted to all the faculties of man. That is the only safe education which shall unite the development of intellect with the happy engagement of our affections, and gradually fit us to fulfil our duties, relatively, socially, civilly, and religiously. Whatever, either physically or morally, puts us out of keeping with those duties, puts our reason as well as our happiness in jeopardy: and we must not forget that the laws of nature, as well as the laws of the two tables, are written alike for our observance by the finger of Him without whom was not anything made that was made.

The subject is one on which we might delight to enlarge, but enough has been said to indicate its interest and importance. Dr. Conolly's able work we commend to those who have reason to seek further information on the matter. They will there see that the great medicine for the insane is separation from the circumstances in which the insanity arose. They will see the salutary influence of patience and gentleness, and the good of amusement as well as of work. They will see that as in children, so in all weak, wayward, or perverted minds, encouragement to the slightest indication of good feeling is the secret of successful advancement to the highest well-being, while anger and discouragement necessarily confirm what is evil, and by leading to despair may freeze the very fountain of life. Wisdom, indeed, reproves sharply, but it also cheerfully sets to work to improve; because it has good principles it has good hopes, and is confident that all impediments shall be removed, and abuses conquered, by the recurrence of the will to the obedience of Divine order and law, which being followed, shall be found so productive of peace and joy, that to depart therefrom shall be the only dread. Without this wisdom a man can neither control himself nor others, but losing his own calmness, he becomes liable to be infected by the maniacal contagion of any ill-temper with which he comes in contact. The whole subject is in truth but a proof that He who gave us our religion understood what is in man, for the religion and the morality of the New Testament are so completely in keeping with the physiology of our minds and bodies, that the true physician can scarcely be distinguished from the true servant of Christ. The grand moral of the matter in relation to all our maladies of mind and body, is the universal applicability of the law of kindness, and the use of truth in love.

## ART. II.—THE INDIAN ARCHIPELAGO.

*The Journal of the Indian Archipelago.* Vols. from 1845 to 1856. Singapore.

THE *Journal* at the head of this article is replete with invaluable information regarding one of the most paradisiacal spots on our globe; and, for that reason, is worthy of a place in our leading libraries. As it is a subject rarely brought before the public, we shall cull from the pages of this repository, and condense within due limits, some interesting features about Malaysia, especially our British settlements there.

The Indian Archipelago stretches along the south-eastern coast of Asia. Extending from the western extremity of Sumatra, or  $95^{\circ}$  E. long., to the parallel of the Aroo Isles, or  $135^{\circ}$ , it embraces forty degrees of longitude; and lying between  $11^{\circ}$  S. and  $20^{\circ}$  N. of the Equator, thirty-one degrees of latitude. In other words, it comprehends four millions and a half geographical, or about five millions and a half square statute miles.

Its western boundary is formed by the Malayan Peninsula and Sumatra, and is washed by the waters of the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. The southern boundary consists of a long series of islands connected together in a straight line of 1,600 geographical miles, and running almost due east and west from Java to Timorlaut. The eastern boundary is less extensive, and principally formed by the island of Papua, or New Guinea. The southern and eastern shores of the Archipelago are washed by the Pacific Ocean. The Philippine Islands, watered by the China Sea, form the northern barrier.

The general position of this Archipelago is between the great continent of Australia and the most southern promontory of Asia. It is situated adjacent to the Asiatic nations, Birmah, Siam, and Cochin-China, and lies along the entire route of maritime intercourse between them.

The northern limits are within three or four days' sail of the empire of China; its western, only twelve days' sail from Port Phillip. To its central and richest islands, it requires, on an average, only ten days' sail from China, twenty from Bengal, sixty from the west coast of America, and ninety from any part of Europe. Such is the peculiar position of this large Archipelago.

It has, moreover, the advantage of containing within its lines some of the fairest countries under the sun,—with the usual exception that “only man is vile.”



It is thickly studded with isles and islets of various sizes,—in chains linked together here and there by a great island. These groups are intersected by portions of the ocean, in some parts comparatively large and free, though uncertain on account of shoals and sunken rocks, e. g., the Java Sea, the Sea of Celebes, &c.; and from the proximity of the various islands to each other, there are innumerable straits and most intricate passages, such as the Palawan Passage and the Straits of Malacca.

Although it might seem unfair to nominate the relative value of the different islands by such a criterion, yet for convenience sake, we may class them according to their size. Thus, under the first degree, we have Sumatra, the longest, and Borneo, the largest; Java is to be classed second; the third class embraces Lycaonia, the chief of the Philippines, also Mindanao and Celebes; and of the fourth rate, we have an infinite number of small islands—Bali, Lombok, Penang, Timor, Singapore, &c.

Our Archipelago falls within the tropics, and almost the whole of it, with the exception of the Philippines, within ten degrees on either side of the Equator. Indeed, it is the only country in India that lies so close to the Equator. Not only so: the equinoctial line passes right through its centre, so as to cut those large islands Sumatra and Borneo, into two halves. Of course, this gives a uniformity, both to the general features of resemblance, and to the distinctive marks which characterize this from other portions of India, as to climate, animals, vegetables, and the different races of inhabitants.

The islands throughout are mountainous,—some of the mountains very high and volcanic. There are no sandy deserts, and few grassy plains; but all the groups are covered with deep forests of stupendous trees, which may be everywhere seen flourishing close to the water's edge; and sailing within hail of those sylvan shores, you cannot but exult in the delicious—"the spicy" breezes which blow off to regale you.

As to the natives, the Malays have become the dominant race. On this account, the entire Archipelago has been named Malaysia. Further inquiry, however, has discovered that two aboriginal tribes inhabit these islands. The one is a brown-complexioned people with lank hair; the other, a race of a soot colour, with woolly, frizzled hair. The former tribe—comprising a majority of the natives of Sumatra, Java, and Borneo—almost invariably displays a marked superiority over the latter. The sooty and wool-headed people are described as dwarf Africans, and bear as inferior a relation to the brown-coloured tribes as the negro bears to the white man in the Western World. They occupy chiefly the eastern part of the group,

or the islands adjacent to New Guinea. Indeed, the native name of New Guinea itself is *Puapua*, "wool-headed," which has been corrupted by foreigners into *Papua*. It appears that some of the islands are occupied by this race almost exclusively. They do not seem to have risen above the lowest barbarism; and whenever they come in contact with any class superior to them, they are powerless, and sometimes, it is said, "are hunted down like wild animals of the forest, or driven up to the mountains and fastnesses."

Of the various divisions of the Archipelago, the western portion has shared the largest intercourse with other nations, and for the longest period, so as to produce a material change in the condition of the natives. Its position, the character of the inhabitants, and the variety and costliness of its products, can easily account for this.

Mr. Crawford, in endeavouring to trace out a connexion between the aborigines of this Archipelago and any distant people, "has no hesitation in thinking that the extraordinary coincidences in language and customs, which have been discovered between them and the natives of Madagascar, originated with the former;" and after discussing this knotty question at some length, positively asserts that that connexion, one of great antiquity, must have "originated in a state of society and manners different from what now exists, and took place long before the intercourse of the Hindoos, not to say the Arabs, with the Indian Archipelago." Upon this question we can only say that, if the ancient tribes in the Archipelago opened and maintained an intercourse with Madagascar of so influential a kind as to create an extraordinary resemblance between their language and habits, and that of the negro races of Madagascar, they must have been of a far more hardy and enterprising stock than we find at present upon these islands.

Although from their geographical position, they are necessarily a maritime people, yet their voyages are chiefly confined to the coast. In merchantmen between Malaysia and Hindostan, or China, or even England, Malayan sea cunnies are often found; yet the adventures of the natives rarely extend beyond the islands and countries which are in their immediate neighbourhood. It was the people of the far West that were led by the spirit of daring and enterprise to open intercourse with these interesting spots.

Long before the topography of the Archipelago was known in Europe, or even the names of its principal islands, its productions had found their way westward, and got classed among the choicest luxuries of Asiatics and Europeans. Nearly three thousand years ago, during the reign of Solomon, part of his navy

—piloted by “shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, came to Ophir once in three years, bringing from Ophir gold, and silver, ivory, and apes and peacocks, great plenty of almug trees and precious stones.” The preponderance of opinion gives to this “Ophir” a situation beyond the Ganges,—some think Malacca, or Java, or Sumatra, or Celebes. The late Dr. Kitto remarks upon this point, after much research: “Perhaps the most probable of all is Malacca, which is known to be the *Aurea Chersonesus* of the ancients. It is worthy of remark, that the natives of Malacca call their gold mines *ophirs*.” But it is not likely that we shall ever be able to meet with a positive solution of the problem. Nevertheless, it may be regarded as certain that, at a subsequent period, a large trade was carried on by the nations of Hindostan with the islands of the Indian Archipelago. The natives of the Coromandel coast, in particular, have carried on this commercial intercourse from time immemorial. What the traders of India, who first visited these islands, sought for, was only their productions. *Kalinga* is the name by which any part of India is known to the islanders; and they give the name *Kling* to those who come from that country,—a considerable portion of whom settle down and intermarry. The bulk of these colonists is to be found chiefly in this western division of the Archipelago.

“It was a passion on the part of the Hindoos, in common with the rest of mankind, for the spices and other rare productions of the islands, that gave rise to this commerce, which increased as the nations of the West improved in riches and civilization; for the trade of the people of Coromandel was the first link of that series of voyages by which the productions of the Archipelago were conducted even to the markets of Rome.”

The Arabians must have opened their trade among these islands at a very early period, though we have not the means of arriving at the precise date. In the thirteenth century, whole islands and parts of islands had adopted the Mohammedan faith. The Arab merchants, who had ventured so far from their native shores, were evidently men of superior strength of character, ambitious and bigoted; and in the assertion of their religious tenets, readily proselytized entire masses of the natives in the Archipelago,—a majority of whom may now be said to be of the Mohammedan creed. Genuine Arabs continue to frequent these islands, and settle down there; and annually there are shiploads of pilgrims carried from the East India groups to visit the tomb of their Prophet and other sacred sites upon the coast of Arabia.

Speaking of Asiatic strangers that frequent the Malayan



Archipelago, it is impossible to overlook the Chinese. The number of these immigrants yearly increases. Every junk from the "Flowery Land" brings a large pack of such colonists to the Malayan Islands, the fame of whose golden products, having extended widely among the maritime "celestials," is tempting enough to entice these citizens in crowds from their father-land in search of food and fortune. Of foreign settlers in the Indian Archipelago, the Chinese are undoubtedly the most numerous. They are met with in every island, but chiefly congregate on islands like Singapore, Borneo, and Java. Compared with the islanders themselves, or with other Asiatic settlers, the Chinese are decidedly superior in enterprise and industry. On this account, they are seen on every islet to have got the upper hand in arts and commerce. They are principally engaged in trade,—almost all the traffic of the Archipelago with surrounding petty states being conducted by them. Some who have been long resident among these isles, have grown enormously rich, and live and die there, rather than risk their comfort or their wealth by returning within the grasp of rapacious mandarins. Very few return to their native country. Undoubtedly, it is the intention of every emigrant as he leaves his father's house, to revisit his kith and kin; but the vast majority are detained by the bonds of business and intermarriages with the natives. The half-caste progeny from such a source is much inferior to the original settler. They wear the dress, they profess the religion, they affect the manners of the Chinaman; but they have lost his language, as well as some of his energy and spirit; and if it be possible, they may be said to exceed him in sensuality and debauchery.

Of Europeans who have figured in the modern history of this western group of the Indian Archipelago, special mention must be made of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British.

During the Middle Ages, the productions of these rich and romantic regions formed part of that "oriental commerce which lighted the embers of civilization in Italy;" and it was the search for them that led to the interesting maritime discoveries of Gama and Columbus.

The Portuguese were the first to reach the Archipelago by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The discovery is attributed to Diego Lopez de Sequeira, who made it in 1509, with a squadron of four Portuguese ships under his command. Following up this discovery, his countryman Alphonso Albuquerque, the Viceroy of the Indies, in 1511, with a fleet of nineteen ships and 1,400 men, wrested the town of Malacca from the natives. They held Malacca 130 years, during which term it was eighteen times besieged,—six times by the natives, seven

times by the King of Acheen, thrice by Javanese, and twice by the Dutch, who, at last, in 1642, drove the Portuguese from it, after a blockade of five months.

Dutch intercourse with these islands did not commence till the close of the sixteenth century. Unfortunately, their first visit was but a sample of that systematic injustice and treachery which a ravenous cupidity for gain has almost invariably pursued throughout the history of Dutch enterprise in the Indian Archipelago. In the year 1596, when their fleet of four vessels under Hautman, reached Java, they at once got themselves embroiled with the inhabitants of the country, here and there committing actual hostilities or horrible massacres. At Madura, they butchered the prince of the island and his whole family, while they were paying a visit of ceremony and friendliness on board one of Hautman's vessels. The result of so unprincipled a policy, carried on down to the latest period, has, of course, generated a train of evils and misfortunes among the native inhabitants, which can never be compensated for by whatever laudable efforts may be made for the improvement of the islanders.

The English made their first appearance in 1558, under Sir Francis Drake,—touching at Ternate and Java; but the first British factory was not established till a century after, at Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra. Their occupation of other islands will be noticed presently. But, in 1811, when the Dutch settlements fell under the French flag, the British landed a force on Java, and compelled the governor to submit. However, after an interim of five years, during which Sir Stamford Raffles introduced many beneficial changes among the natives, Java was ceded by treaty to the Dutch, who have retained it to the present day. In 1824, by a treaty between Great Britain and Holland, all the English settlements in Sumatra were ceded to Holland, in lieu of the Dutch establishments on the continent of India and at Malacca. The British engaged that “no British station should be made on Sumatra, or on any of the islands south of the Straits of Singapore; nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the chiefs of those settlements.” At the same time the sovereignty of the island of Singapore, including the seas and straits within ten miles of it, was confirmed to Great Britain by that convention with the King of the Netherlands, and by a treaty with the Malay princes of Johore, to whom the island originally belonged. Thus, the only property which Britain holds in the Indian Archipelago is, to name the separate lots in the order of chronological occupation, Penang, Province Wellesley, Malacca, and Singapore. All these, from 1830, have been made subordinate

to the Bengal government; and since then, there has been a valuable accession in a portion of territory on Borneo.

To call special attention to the settlements at present occupied by the British in this garden of the East, we begin with:—

1. PENANG, or Prince of Wales Island, was made over, in 1785, to the commander of an East Indiaman, Captain Francis Light, by the King of Queda, a petty state on the opposite coast, as a marriage portion with his daughter. The following year, that captain transferred it to the East India Company, by whom he was appointed their first governor of the island. It is situated off the west coast of the Malayan Peninsula, from which it is separated by a channel from two to five miles in width; and it lies between that and the west end of Sumatra, in lat.  $5^{\circ} 25' N.$ , long.  $100^{\circ} 19' E.$  The island itself is very small, as denoted by its name, *Pulo Penang*; *pulo* being applied by the natives only to a spot the insularity of which is within the range of vision. In fact, it is but sixteen miles in length, north and south, and ten in breadth, offering an area of 160 square miles. The name *Penang* is given either on account of immense quantities of "areca nut" growing on it, or from some resemblance the natives imagine they see in its shape to that nut. The coast is bold, and studded with rocky islets. The harbour of Penang is capacious, and has a good anchorage; it has now become one of the principal stations of the China branch of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's line. In the centre of the island there are two or three ranges of lofty hills,—the western range, which is the highest, rising 2,500 feet above the level of the sea, and presenting on its eastern face, an exquisite cascade of water, much to the gratification of any ship-passenger who has for weeks seen nothing but the blue sea. There are some hill-ranges that rise 2,300 or 1,800 feet, with a temperature eight or ten degrees lower than in the valley. These hills, from their elevation, supply convalescents with a climate like that of Madeira, and afford an agreeable retreat for European invalids from India; not only are they in a high state of cultivation, with flourishing and productive spice trees, but most of them have large bungalows built upon them. The soil of the island throughout is very rich. Fields are laid out for rice-cultivation. There are plantations of nutmegs, and the best and finest cloves. The hill-slopes are planted with tea, cotton, and tobacco; and, inland, there are jungles of fine rattans and bamboos, and first-rate timber, teak and cypress. From the appearance of the interior—particularly the discovery of numerous ancient-looking tombs there—it has been presumed by some visitors, that there is ground to credit the native tradition that, at an early date, it



was inhabited to a considerable extent. Strange to say, however, when taken possession of in 1785, there were only a few miserable fishermen upon its sea coast. At present, its population amounts to 50,000; yet, probably, there is no spot on our globe so small as this which has so large a variety of races and languages—British, Dutch, Portuguese, Armenians, Parsees, Bengalese, Birmans, Malays, Siamese, Chinese, &c. The commerce, already considerable, is represented by government reports as being on the increase. Its principal town, George Town, is remarkably neat and clean; one part of which is entirely occupied by the Chinese colonists. A mission was opened here in 1819, for the benefit of the inhabitants, by the London Missionary Society, with its Chinese and Malay branches, but was relinquished in 1846, in consequence of the urgent claims of China Proper. Since then, one Continental missionary has pursued, single-handed, his benevolent efforts among the islanders; but having been lately called to his rest, this post has been occupied by a missionary in connexion with the Chinese Evangelization Society. The Papists possess a seminary here for training up young Chinese as preachers to their countrymen; this establishment is said to contain twenty inmates on an average; they have also a female orphan asylum connected with their mission. In one of the recent reports of that mission, they state that “within the preceding ten years, there had been no less than 759 Chinese converted” to the Romish faith in Penang.

2. PROVINCE WELLESLEY is a strip of territory on the shore of the Malayan Peninsula, exactly opposite to Penang, and immediately under its jurisdiction. It extends only thirty-five miles along that coast, and but four miles across; and is bounded on all sides by native states, except on the west, where it is washed by the sea. The face of this portion of British territory is undulating, and its soil varies from common sand to the richest alluvial; it is partly covered with jungle and forest trees, and partly laid out into mango groves, coconut plantations, and rice fields; moreover, there are on it wild uncultivated spots, the resorts of elephants, tigers, rhinoceroses, and snakes. The statistics of 1851 gave the population at 65,000. In this total, there were more than 50,000 Malays, about 8,000 Chinese, and 1,100 European settlers. Although this is a settlement occupied by the British since 1800, its name is scarcely known among the English; nor does it appear that any distinct or direct movement has been set on foot for the moral improvement of its population, which exceeds even that of Singapore.

3. The settlement at MALACCA is situate upon the south-west

coast of the Malayan Peninsula, about 250 miles east of the island of Singapore. It runs forty miles along shore, and twenty-five inland. All its boundary lines are Malayan states; but to the west, where there are the well-known Straits, the climate is reputed as excellent, and suitable for invalids. The vegetation is luxuriant,—coffee, sugar-cane, indigo, chocolate, and pepper can be produced in any quantity. It is remarkable too, for its exports of gold-dust, tin, ebony, and rattans. The products of the ground and its internal resources do, without doubt, exceed those of Singapore or of any of the other territories already named, and may yet be augmented to an enormous amount. Still, although at one time it was an eastern port of some consequence, it is not likely ever again to rival Singapore in a commercial view. Its latest census does not exceed 60,000, composed of heterogeneous masses, and including 3,000 Europeans. The town of Malacca stands upon the shore, and at the mouth of a river. It offers a pretty and picturesque appearance from the sea. It is in two divisions, one on each side of the river, united by a bridge. The old town is on the left hand. There you have the hill “St. Paul,” topped by the church of our Lady “del Monte,” built by Albuquerque, and its base surrounded by the ruins of a Portuguese fort, and studded with barracks, court-house, jail, and government offices. The houses are built in the old-fashioned Dutch style—with out-houses, offices, and square. The new town and best part of the bazaars are on the right bank of the river. The town population is stated at 14,000. Malacca was the first station occupied by British Christians for missionary projects in this Archipelago. In the year 1815, both Chinese and Malay departments were opened by the late Dr. Milne, and sustained by the London Missionary Society until the year 1843, when in consequence of the wide openings in the Chinese Empire, the entire mission was removed to China. At present, there are no religious efforts made of a regular and systematic form, among the natives or colonists. It seems to be an opinion, growing among those who have had the opportunity of comparing the settlement in its existing state with its previous condition, that Malacca has in every respect declined much, and that there is little prospect but of its sinking still lower.

4. SINGAPORE originally went under the name *Singha-poora*, that is by interpretation, “Lion-town.” It is known to the Chinese only as *Sillah*. It is an island which, according to government papers, measures twenty-six miles in length and thirteen in breadth. It lies between the parallels  $1^{\circ} 5'$  and  $1^{\circ} 20'$  N., and is separated from the southernmost point of the

peninsula of Malacca, by the straits of the same name,—formerly the common channel of navigation for vessels between India and China,—in some parts not more than half a mile wide, or so narrow indeed, that tigers are able to swim across from the main land. In the twelfth century, there stood, near the centre of the southern shore of Singapore, the capital of a Malayan state, founded by a colony of natives from the opposite peninsula; and the present settlement occupies the site of that ancient city. A passenger coming in his ship from the eastward, and entering the harbour of Singapore on a bright sunny morning, is met by a mixed variety of the most amusing and vexatious, enlivening and monotonous scenes that can, in the same amount of time, flit before one's eye during a voyage round the world. The harbour, lying south and south-eastern of the settlement—good, safe, and spacious—crowded with vessels bearing all flags, renders the place unusually gay: native canoes skimming the surface of the bay—little skiffs, very light and very fleet, worked by a couple or by four men, and still tinier boats, with fishermen casting their nets all around your ship; the whole line of shore bordered almost to the water's edge with large hotels, private residences, a battery, a church, educational institutions, a parade and carriage drive, &c.; and the back rising grounds studded with English villas and bungalows, in the centre of which stands the Government Hill, with the Government House, Observatory, &c. But, while you are eagerly eyeing this pleasing landscape, and before your ship is able to secure her berth, your attention is arrested by a number of curious people jumping on board to inquire the object of your visit or the destination of your vessel; hosts of washermen pestering you by their petitions for your patronage, and before you are aware of it, shovelling whole packets of certificates into your hands to assure you of their honesty, punctuality, cleanliness, and so forth; human beings of all colours, and *in* all colours, presenting hotel cards, surgeons' cards, marine-store cards; Kling bumboat-men, India toymen, Malay pedlers,—the one vying with the other to secure your notice and favours by every kind of the most humble and respectful grimaces and postures. One afternoon's excursion on shore will serve to give you some notion of the town, suburbs, and country. Roads, good and wide, though covered, and much to your discomfort covering your best suit with a fine red clayey dust; the grounds around the private bungalows dotted with nutmeg, gutta percha, sago, and bread-fruit trees, betel-nut, palms, &c.; long open highways leading into the heart of the island, pass between large and extensive cocoa-nut plantations. The climate you must pronounce to be unexceptionably fine.



Although upon the Line, the hot temperature of noon is checked almost every afternoon by a sudden squall of wind, sweeping over the settlement with clouds vomiting forth their discharges of electricity and volumes of rain. Upon the west side of the island there is a small village, called New Harbour, active and bustling, the depôt of the Peninsular and Oriental Company. The eastern part was at one time reputed as the resort of tigers, pirates, and outlaws. The face of the island undulates with low hills of jungle and forest trees, and many fertile valleys, for a long time scarcely known but to a few Chinese settlers. Fruits, spices, and vegetables of every variety thrive here; plantains, pineapples, guavas, nutmegs, cloves, pepper, sugarcane, &c. In 1819, when the settlement was founded by Sir Stamford Raffles, the census gave only 150 people; in 1833, there were 20,978; in 1841, it numbered 36,000; in 1848, it had risen to 57,421; at present, it exceeds 60,000. This population is mainly composed of immigrants from India, China, and the surrounding isles. The town is distributed into three parts,—the eastern and western occupied by Chinese, Klings, and Malays, and the central by Europeans. The native Malays, naturally unenterprising, jealous, and bigotedly attached to their own tribes, keep aloof from merging into other miscellaneous masses of people, and select for themselves sheltered and secluded retreats; accordingly, in a town like Singapore, they form but a minority. The majority of the population consists of Chinese, and of natives from the Madras coast and other parts of India. The Chinese may be classed into two orders,—the one, of descendants from a mixed parentage, and preserving the features and dress, but not the pride and industry of their Chinese fathers; the other, of recent arrivals from the south and south-eastern coasts of China in search of their livelihood. From the very founding of the Singapore settlement, there have existed among the Chinese colonists, secret societies, originally set up in China as political clubs to subvert the Tartar dynasty; these fraternities have, in Singapore as everywhere else, been turned into combinations for the most pernicious purposes, committing alarming outrages, extensive depredations, and lawless raids, greatly to the disturbance of the public peace and the annoyance of the foreign residents. Recently, there has been a considerable accession to these irregular lodges from Chinese rebels, who, having been driven from their native land, have taken refuge in Singapore; thither they have brought with them their spirit of insubordination, and in June 1854, a serious tumult among the Chinese settlers, in which these refugees took a prominent part, was put down, only after “above 300 Chinese had been murdered

or shot." In the mixed population of the settlement we find Jews, Armenians, Parsees, Portuguese, French, and Germans: there is but a handful of Americans. The British community is large, and yearly on the increase,—the majority consisting of Scotchmen. Of late, Singapore has been converted into one of the penal settlements of India, much to the annoyance of the residents. Though the island itself produces nothing in particular, the commercial business conducted upon it is most vigorous and of enormous extent. In 1852-53, the imports were valued at £3,487,695, and the exports at £3,026,986,—total six and a half millions pounds sterling. It has already become, and gives promise of increasing, as a point of congress for natives from all the surrounding countries; it is the half-way port for the ultra-Gangetic traders, and for vessels from England, America, France, Holland, Spain, Portugal, and India, which hold commerce with China or the islands of the Archipelago; and now there is prospect of a fine trade opening between it and Australia. From the harbour-master's table issued for 1853, it appears that the number of European and American ships which entered the harbour during the year amounted to 1,058; of these 733 alone were British, reckoning nearly 275,000 tons. During the same year there were 2,107 native vessels, with a tonnage of 70,194 tons. As to religions, the settlement has its Mohammedan mosque, Jewish synagogue, Kling shrine, Chinese temple, Armenian church, and Popish and Protestant chapels. The only proselytizing forms of religion here are Popery and Protestantism. Just three hundred years ago, Francis Xavier, "the Apostle of the Indies" made his appearance at Malacca; and the Portuguese ascribe to his presence the salvation of that city from a formidable attack of the king of Acheen, who came against it with a fleet of seventy galleys and an army of a hundred thousand men. After this, Xavier removed to christianize the Moluccas. Recently, the missionaries of that church have begun to put forth more than usual vigour in converting the colonists of Singapore, as well as extending their efforts over the Archipelago,—a field which they now discover to be open to them, and almost undisputed. Protestants at one time held a footing at this settlement, and vigorously prosecuted their work for a long time, both among Malays and Chinese; they readily mastered the language, spoken and written; they translated a portion of the Holy Bible into the Malay tongue; they prepared various useful tracts, and widely distributed them;—but, after labouring for thirty years in the field, they withdrew in order that they might occupy the openings which in China were so inviting to them, and which seemed to have a higher claim. Since then,

with a few solitary (and worthy) exceptions, direct efforts for christianizing our Singapore subjects have been relinquished by Protestants,—the prudence of which leaves room for serious question. But we must take leave of Singapore for Borneo.

5. BORNEO.—Except Australia and New Guinea, this is the largest island in the world. It runs ten degrees both ways, and is remarkable for its relative position. On the east, it is overlooked by the Great Celebes and the Spice Islands; on the west, by Sumatra and the Malayan Peninsula; on the south, by the fertile and populous Java; and on the north, by China and the Philippine Islands. Thus embosomed in a cluster of rich and fairy islands, surrounded by seas so shut in by the land that their waters are as smooth as those of a lake, affording every facility for the navigation of native craft, and lying almost in the direct course of vessels in the China trade, whether they pass by the Straits of Sunda or Singapore,—it is scarcely possible to conceive where else a location more convenient for commercial purposes in this Archipelago can be found. As we have to do at present with British intercourse here, we shall leave the Dutch in their glory over an empire on paper, which boasts of numerous territorial divisions in Borneo as “subjected to the Netherlands sovereignty.” The East India Company, and private adventurers too, early tried to open trade on the coast of Borneo; but through their own indiscretion, or the opposition of Dutch settlers, they were obliged to abandon Borneo entirely so far back as a century ago. The only recent and successful attempt to secure an honourable footing on Borneo is that of Mr. Brooke.

At the close of 1838, Mr. Brooke left England in the schooner “Royalist,” with the intention of visiting Borneo. He reached the island in the following year, and making for its northern division, called Borneo Proper, which hitherto had been an independent state uninfluenced by any European intrigue, Mr. Brooke settled down at Sarawak, a district lying on its south-western corner. This spot was selected on account of the soil and productions being of the richest quality, for within the same given space, there are not to be found so many mineral and vegetable resources in any other part of the globe. On his first arrival, however, Mr. Brooke found the country in a state of anarchy. A few petty chiefs had confederated to seize the territory from the legitimate sovereign, Mudah Hassim. The native prince was on the spot to suppress it; but being reduced to circumstances of great perplexity and distress, from the apathy of his followers and the falseness of his friends, he sought the counsel and aid of his foreign ally, who already had established himself on his territory. After



some delay, the appeal was acceded to. In a short time, the rebels surrendered at discretion; and, through Mr. Brooke's mediation, their lives were spared, and their families restored. In return for his services, Mudah Hassim presented to Mr. Brooke the governorship of Sarawak, under the following terms: "That the country and government of Sarawak be made over to Mr. Brooke to be held under the crown of Borneo, with all its resources and dependencies, on the yearly payment of 2,500 dollars; that Mr. Brooke was not to infringe on the customs or religion of the natives; and, in return, that no person was to interfere with Mr. Brooke in the management of the district of Sarawak."

In accepting the government of Sarawak, Mr. Brooke (henceforward titled "The Rajah of Sarawak,") set before himself three grand objects: "the extension of trade, the propagation of Christianity, and the suppression of atrocities practised on the Dyak tribes." From that time, through the urgent appeals of Rajah Brooke to his countrymen, and by his personal visit to his native country, the British government has been led to appreciate the advantage of preserving a commanding influence on Borneo, and of shaping a policy in pursuance of which no system of aggression or aggrandizement should be manifested. A few years back, on Mr. Brooke revisiting Great Britain, honourable notice was taken of him by the Crown, and he was appointed "Her Britannic Majesty's Commissioner-General in Borneo." Since his return to Sarawak, laden with the well-merited rewards of his countrymen, Sir James Brooke has continued to evince the same spirit of enterprise and benevolence in this wondrous field. Not the least of his efforts has been to promote the blessings of liberty and freedom among the surrounding tribes; and not long ago he assisted in the complete emancipation of the Hill Dyak tribes, numbering 25,000, who had been living in a state of the most cruel degradation and slavery to the Coast Malays. And also in "the extension of trade" in Borneo, the English Rajah has been remarkably successful. The *Examiner* in reference to this subject observed, a few months since: "When Sir James took possession of this little territory in 1841, its mere Malayan population was but 200; and it has now risen to 15,000. In 1849, its export and import trade each amounted to no more than £10,000; and in 1853, they had risen to £170,000, employing 30,000 tons of one kind of vessel or another. In short, Sir James Brooke's genius has created the most prosperous state that ever existed in Borneo, an island which, for the three hundred and fifty years it has been known to us, no European has been able to turn to any good."

We wish that we could speak with as much satisfaction or hope of the scheme adopted by Sir James for carrying out another of his projects, "the propagation of Christianity" among the aborigines of Borneo. This duty has been entrusted to the wisdom and routine of the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel." Under the superintendence of that society, there are at present four stations occupied by five or six missionaries. Schools have been established; a printing press set up; a translation of the Liturgy into Malay completed; a few converts enlisted, and to crown the whole (as appears by the *London Gazette* of May 18, 1855), "The Queen has been pleased to constitute the island of Labuan\* and its dependencies to be a bishop's see and diocese, to be called the 'Bishopric of Labuan,' and to appoint the Rev. Francis Thomas M'Dougall, D.C.L.,† to be ordained and consecrated bishop of the said see."

With regard to "the extraordinary proceedings of Sir James Brooke," which some people have long been trying to trumpet up, charging Sir James with the darkest and foulest atrocities, we have only room and inclination to say (what indeed the public are already aware of), that the most severe and impartial scrutiny has elicited that there is no real ground for the scandalous persecution to which the Rajah of Sarawak has been exposed. By the official report of the commissioners appointed to set on foot an inquiry into those accusations, and by the verdict of her Majesty's government based on the evidence therein adduced, Sir James Brooke has been thoroughly acquitted of acts of butchery and bloodthirstiness, and the estimate has been confirmed in which his fellow-countrymen have justly held him, as one who, in this field of self-devotion and sacrifice, has shown that his motto has been "*Humani nihil à me alienum.*"

In closing this rapid view of the Indian Archipelago, we must confess that it is matter of no little surprise to us that the growing facilities for British intercourse and adventure on its islands have not been followed up by a larger accession of merchants and true-hearted philanthropists. The independent investigations made by such men as Brooke, Tradescant Lay, and St. John, and the surveys instituted by our government under the eye of Belcher, Keppel, &c., have contributed a vast amount of information that ought to have awakened corresponding interest

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\* Off the coast of Borneo.

† At one time Demonstrator of Anatomy in King's College, London who went out to Borneo as Missionary in 1848.

about Malaysia. The Dutch know too well the advantage of holding islands in this quarter; and, it is said, they claim above a half of the Archipelago as their own. But this immense field continues open at numerous points, to other nations as well as to the Dutch. Why then should not Britons avail themselves of such openings, in lands that lie stretched before them, as if awaiting their arrival for occupation? There is scope enough here for numberless forms of enterprise, favourable to the promotion of religion, science, commerce, and philanthropy. Not to embrace opportunities like these, rich with interest and promise,—is it not sheer folly?

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### ART. III.—MILLENARIANISM.

*Millennial Studies; or, what saith the Scripture concerning the Kingdom and Advent of Christ.* By the Rev. W. P. Lyon, B.A., Tunbridge Wells. Pp. vi., 244. London: Ward & Co.

To commend the subject of this work, as set forth in the title-page, is superfluous; not so, however, to say that the Millenarian question deserves more attention from anti-Millenarians than it has of late years received. The press has, indeed, teemed with volumes on the subject; but these have proceeded principally from Millenarian pens; and both by their quantity, and as the writings, for the most part, of very estimable men, have undoubtedly produced an impression beyond the immediate circles of their authors. If the views enforced in them were scriptural and healthy, this success would be ground for rejoicing: as we apprehend the case, it is to be deplored and counteracted. To be deplored, because we verily believe that what success they may have realized apart from the influence of their authors' characters, has resulted far more from the ignorance of their readers than from any depth, or truth, or power of any kind, that they have evinced; to be counteracted, because whatever the cause of their success may have been, it is certain that they have made many converts, and that their effect on them has been and must be, to involve in ruinous confusion the most precious and the clearest teachings of inspired Scripture. We greet, therefore, with a cordial welcome, these "Millennial Studies" of Mr. Lyon, as knowing, from repeated perusal, that they comprise a scriptural view of their important subject, and a solid refutation of the principal errors relating to it. We owe Mr.



Lyon an apology for not having earlier noticed his opportune publication; but we know that even in its earlier form, of detached periodical essays, it was highly valued by persons acquainted with the subject; and we are gratified to believe that having been so introduced to the public, it has not needed other public notice so much as it otherwise might have done. It is a volume which, to reflecting, unprepossessed readers, will very well commend itself. At the same time, the great importance of the questions at issue, and the wide circulation of plausible and complicated, though fallacious and often flimsy argument on the Millenarian side, render it by no means a work of supererogation to exhibit here the leading thoughts and character of Mr. Lyon's volume. We must premise, however, for those of our readers who are ill-informed on the subject itself, a few general remarks upon it.

Millenarianism is a peculiar theory of doctrine relating to the dispensations of grace and glory, not of recent origin, but handed down from the first age of Christianity, and clearly traceable to a Jewish source. It has for its basis or stock a single verse (Rev. xx. 4), in which John describes his vision of some thrones, and of some souls, evidently the souls of those who had suffered under the heathen (Rev. vi. 9) and Papal (Rev. xiii., 18) persecutions,—respecting whom he adds, “that they lived and reigned with Christ the thousand years;”—the thousand years, that is, during which he had just said (in verses 2 and 3) he had seen Satan bound, that he might deceive the nations no more till they were ended. On this stock, by first assuming that a special reign of Christ for that time is intended, but which the verse by no means indicates, and then engrafting on it every bud of prophecy, whether in the Old Testament or New, that refers to a future glory, they have reared a splendid show of dazzling but monstrous flowers, beautiful enough when lighted up by earthly passion and imagination, but which, wanting the strong health of truth, fall off in showers under the clearer light and genial breezes of an unclouded heaven.

The principal fictions of the Millenarian system are the reign of Christ on earth in person visibly for a thousand years; the reign with him of his universal church over the earth for the same period; the national supremacy of the Jews over all other nations then and for ever; Christ not reigning over the earth till the commencement, and ceasing to reign at the end of the thousand years; two distinct resurrections and judgments of the righteous and wicked—that of the former preceding, and that of the latter succeeding the thousand years; the opening of the Book of Life (as in Rev. xx. 12) exclusively to show

that none of those who shall then be before the judgment-seat have their names written in it; the assumption that the period between our Lord's ascension and second advent is an intercalated period, entirely overlooked in Old Testament prophecy; and the notion that God having elected the Hebrew nation to be a peculiar people to himself, and promised to settle them in Canaan, bound himself by his original and many subsequent promises to give them Canaan for an absolutely eternal inheritance, and to make them, as distinguished from all other Adamic races, the object of his supreme regard and special love for ever. Some also contend that, when the Hebrew nation is restored to Canaan, Jehovah's temple will be rebuilt on Mount Moriah according to the pattern in Ezekiel, and that the Levitical sacrifices and other rites will be re-established agreeably to the letter of his vision.

We cannot here draw out this system into its secondary and remoter ramifications; but enough has been said to enable the sincere, diligent, and prayerful reader of the Scriptures to test it by that sure and steadfast Word. Our object in this paper is not to exhibit our own perspicacity in refuting these unscriptural notions, but to show, as far as our brief limits will permit, how well Mr. Lyon has done so.

Among the controverted points relating to Christ's Mediatorial kingdom, the time of its commencement holds a prominent place. The ordinary view has been, that it commenced when the Redeemer took his seat at the right hand of God; and Peter's argument, from the effusion of the Spirit (in Acts ii. 33—36), "that God had made that very Jesus, whom the Jews had crucified, both Lord and Christ," has been customarily accepted as valid proof to that effect. Millenarians, however, reject this evidence, and defer the commencement of our Lord's kingship till the setting of the thrones in Rev. xx. 4. Mr. Lyon having quoted a long passage from Mr. Birks in support of this opinion, thus refutes it:—

"Very strange are the reasons which Mr. Birks assigns for that kingdom being still future, which began when visible fruits of redemption first appeared. . . . 'This kingdom,' says Mr. Birks, 'came with power *after* the King had withdrawn; and yet it has not come at all *because* he has withdrawn. It came with power when judgment was executed on the Jewish nation for unbelief; and yet it has not come because the execution of judgment is still delayed! It came with power in the preaching of the Gospel when the will of God was gloriously revealed by the Holy Spirit; and yet it has not come because that will has only been partially revealed to mankind!' The attentive reader will perceive that the reasons which Mr. Birks

assigns for the kingdom *not* having come, are identical with those which he assigns for its *having really come with power!*—P. 19.

If it appear incredible that a writer of Mr. Birks's undoubted perspicacity should, even under the influence of a false hypothesis, be thus inconsistent, the reader of Mr. Lyon's volume has only to consult the extracts furnished him in pp. 16—18, and he may convince himself of the truth of the allegation. Further on Mr. Lyon thus resumes his notice:—

“We shall now consider Mr. Birks's description of what he designates ‘the proper kingdom of Christ.’ ‘It must,’ he says, ‘be marked by three characters which have never yet been exhibited together. There must be the visible presence of the King, a full and clear manifestation of his righteous will, and the public enforcement of his just authority, by the punishment of the rebellious, and the open reward of his faithful servants.’ By ‘the proper kingdom of Christ,’ Mr. Birks means the millennial kingdom. ‘The gospel dispensation,’ he says, ‘is not the proper kingdom, but a time of waiting and forbearance before it is assumed; the millennium is the time when our Lord reigns.’—P. 193.

“When Mr. Birks affirms that ‘the gospel dispensation is not the proper kingdom,’ he seems to admit that it is in *some* sense a kingdom, though not in the sense which he intends. It might here be asked—What is a kingdom? When may a king be said to reign in his kingdom?—The word kingdom means territory or country ruled by a king, the inhabitants of which are subject to his authority. A king reigns when he exercises his authority; when he has full power to maintain that authority; to enforce obedience; to put down the evil doer; and to protect and reward the just. The question then arises—Is our world, under the present dispensation, the kingdom of Christ, or is it not? Does Christ now reign over it, or does he not? To our mind, Scripture answers these questions in the affirmative. [Here follow Acts ii. 36 (before noticed); Acts v. 31, and Matt. xxvii. 18.] In them alone we have everything we need for our argument. For, if Christ now possesses ‘*all* power on earth,’ if he is ‘*head over all things*’ on earth, how can it be maintained that he does not *now* reign over the earth? Nothing is wanting to his *now* reigning so far as *power* is concerned, for he possesses ‘*all* power on earth.’ Mr. Birks tells us that he ‘*exercises* all power on earth.’ Now Christ cannot have *more* power on earth than *all* power. Were he visibly present on earth, he could not exercise *more* power than he already exercises, for he ‘*exercises all* power on earth.’ If he is now ‘*head over all things*’ on the earth, he could not, by being visibly present, be *head* over anything over which he is not already *head*. Nothing, then, would be gained *in this respect* by Christ being visibly present on the earth. He could not possess or exercise more power, sitting on a visible throne in our world, than he already possesses and exercises sitting on his throne, to us invisible, at his Father's right hand.”—Pp. 22, 23.



In reference to the alleged necessity of Christ's visible presence in order to kingship, our author adds:—

“ But Mr. Birks further affirms, that ‘ the visible presence of the King ’ is another character of ‘ the proper kingdom of Christ.’ The remarks we have already made will go far in refutation of this sentiment. We need only say further, therefore, that, if the visible presence of Christ be essential to his being properly a King, then he could be King only *where* he is visibly present! As this would be Jerusalem, it could be only in Jerusalem that he would have this ‘ proper kingdom.’ But this notion is too monstrous to require serious refutation. ‘ What!’ we might ask, ‘ is it only in those parts of her dominions where she is personally present that Victoria is queen? We thought that her sovereignty consisted in her right to rule being recognised; in her subjects yielding a willing obedience to that law whose majesty she is supposed to represent and defend; and in her having at command ample means of putting down the disaffected and rebellious. Even so is it with Christ. If his right to rule is recognised by the Father, who has given him the kingdom; if his laws are willingly obeyed by his faithful people; if he possesses all power to put down and punish the rebellious, when it is his righteous pleasure so to do; then it matters little whether he be in heaven or on earth; he possesses all the essentials of sovereignty, and is already our world’s King.”—Pp. 26, 27.

The *principium et fons* of Millenarianism, Rev. xx. 1—6, comes under consideration in pp. 164—171. Though successfully handled, for the exposure of Millenarian error, there are some oversights in this chapter, as when, for instance, Mr. Lyon says (p. 167), “ that of the martyrs it is but a section that rises, such as were ‘ beheaded, &c.,’ ” overlooking those in ch. xiii. 15.; and again (same page), “ there is nothing said here of their reigning *on the earth*, ” the locality being fairly supplied from ch. v. 10, according to the Millenarian hypothesis; and again (same page), where the expression in ver. v., “ this is the first resurrection,” is represented as the “ only argument which even Millenarians depend on, in support of a literal interpretation,” though Mr. Elliott has, in his “ *Horæ Apocalyptiæ*, ” very adroitly and speciously argued for a literal resurrection, on the ground that the death, the beheading, had been literally fact. These oversights notwithstanding, however, the interpretation of this important section is well given, as the following extract, with which we entirely agree, will show:—

“ ‘ This is the first resurrection.’ The term *first* has evident reference to the preceding statement of the verse, ‘ The rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished.’ It is in allusion to this *second* resurrection that it is said, ‘ This is the *first* resurrection.’ But why may not this ‘ first resurrection ’ be figurative, like that of the ‘ two witnesses ’ in chapter xi.? Mr.

Bonar will answer this question. 'This is evidently,' he says, 'the Holy Spirit's explanation of the previous scene. That scene presented to us a mighty multitude *living* and *reigning* with Christ. Then the explanation is added, 'This is the first resurrection;' just as in the first chapter it is said, 'The seven candlesticks are the seven churches.' In both cases the explanatory clause is added, not to carry out the symbol or add another to it, but to tell in plain and literal language what the preceding vision was. If so, then, *resurrection* must be used in its natural sense in the 20th chapter, just as *churches* are used in their natural sense in the first.' (P. 382). Mr. Birks uses precisely the same argument. He says of the words in question, 'They answer exactly to the similar statements. . . . 'The seven candlesticks are the seven churches.' 'Golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints.' (P. 104). We marvel at the blindness of these writers in using such an argument. Do they not see that, as the seven candlesticks were not *really* the seven churches, but were only symbolic of them; so also the souls of the beheaded saints seated on thrones, is not *really* their resurrection, but only a symbol of it? When they can make out that the seven candlesticks were *literally* the seven churches, and that the golden vials full of odours were *literally* the prayers of saints, then they may prove that the martyred saints seated on thrones is *literally* a resurrection."—Pp. 167—169.

Mr. Lyon's objection to the parallel set up is clearly well taken. The alleged instances are not parallel beyond the fact that in all three there is a scene and its explanation. But in those alleged by Mr. Birks there is a symbol and something else. In Rev. xx. 4, there is, even according to him, no symbol, but a literal fact, the very resurrection afterwards explained to be such.

Mr. Lyon has well observed, in his chapter on the alleged Jewish supremacy over the nations, that "one of the mischiefs arising from Millenarianism is the tendency it has to foster, in the minds of Jews, those same views of Messiah's kingdom which led their forefathers to reject and crucify the Saviour." To his remark, that had our Lord but gratified their carnal expectations, by establishing an earthly kingdom, they would have hailed him as David's son, we may add, that in the hope of his fulfilling such an expectation, they actually did so hail him, and on one occasion, would have made him king by force, had he not escaped from them, as conscious that his kingdom was not from men, and that he must receive it from the Father alone, and from him only as the reward of his obedience to death.

The argument in this chapter is very convincing. In fulfilment of our promise to let Mr. Lyon speak, we subjoin the following extract in reply to Mr. Birks and others:—

"But here Millenarians differ with us. 'You are mistaken,' they say, 'in supposing that the veil is on the Jewish mind in the reading of the Old Testament. The veil is, indeed, *on* when portions are read which relate to the Messiah's *character*, but it is *off* in the reading of those that relate to his *kingdom*. The Jews are correct in understanding the prophets to predict their coming elevation to supremacy among the nations.' The following extracts will show that we are guilty of no misrepresentation. After quoting Isaiah lxvi. 20, "And they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the Lord, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord;" Mr. Birks says, 'This passage is sometimes quoted to prove, that converted Jews will be missionaries to the Gentiles. But this is entirely to misconceive a very plain statement. It is Gentiles who have escaped . . . the great hailstones of divine vengeance on the oppressors of Israel, who are the predicted messengers; and the effect of the tidings they bring is, to dispose all the surviving nations to restore these Jews, with humility and reverence, to the land of promise, in token of submission to . . . the King of kings.' (P. 281.) 'The children of Israel are to be brought in the arms of the Gentiles to their own land.' (P. 275.) 'Gentiles will have to renounce the fatal heresy which regards their present equality as an indefeasible right, instead of an undeserved boon, and to own once more their subordination to the chosen people of God.' (P. 315.) He speaks of the 'priestly dignity of the people of Israel,' and of the open acknowledgment of it by all the other nations.' (P. 279.) Besides this, there is to be 'a periodical resort of nations to Jerusalem, there to offer a solemn worship in the presence of Jehovah.' (P. 282.)"—Pp. 176, 177.

"In these extracts the future supremacy of the Jews over the Gentiles is distinctly affirmed. On this point we request attention to the following observations:—

"It can hardly fail to strike a thoughtful mind as being, if true, not a little remarkable, that it should be precisely for that people who have been guilty of the most horrid crime ever committed upon earth, and who, to this day, glory in that crime, that this earthly supremacy should be in reserve! The most pre-eminent of the world's inhabitants in guilt are hereafter to be the most pre-eminent of them in glory! And this, not because of any peculiar excellence by which their repentance and faith are to be distinguished, or because of any peculiar services they shall have rendered to Christ. Their repentance and faith are to be of the lowest possible character. Jesus said to an unbelieving disciple, 'Thomas, because thou hast seen me, thou hast believed; blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.' This implies that the faith which is produced by sight, is of a lower character than that which does not require such evidence. Now, according to Millenarians, the Jews, like



Thomas, persist in unbelief, and in enmity, till they *see* Jesus. After their return to their own land, when they are in the depths of trouble, but still hardened in unbelief, Christ is to *appear visibly* for their deliverance. Then, when 'they look on him whom they have pierced, they shall mourn, and be in bitterness.' Christ then begins to reign among them visibly and gloriously: and then these Jews, having thus persisted in unbelief till the eleventh hour; and having yielded at length only to the evidence of *sight*; their faith and repentance having been produced by this sign from heaven, even 'the glorious appearing of the Saviour' for their deliverance; and without having as yet rendered anything but the greatest possible *dis-service* to Christ, are to be exalted to supremacy and rule throughout the world! Then as Mr. Birks affirms (p. 277), 'they are to suck the milk of the Gentiles, and the breast of kings.' Then we Gentiles must 'renounce the fatal heresy which regards our present equality (with the Jews) as an indefeasible right, instead of an undeserved boon, and own once more our subordination to the chosen people of God.' Then, according to Mr. Molyneux (p. 261), 'the nation and kingdom that will not serve (the Jews) shall perish!' And then, communities of Christians, who, 'having not seen, have yet believed,' and have grown grey in the service of Christ, are, according to Mr. Bonar ('Coming and Kingdom,' p. 50), to 'bow themselves down at the soles of the feet' of those who 'believe, because they have seen,' and who shall have been, up to that time, the most virulent enemies of Christ's cause! We cannot help saying of this, 'Very strange, if true: very inconsistent with the principles on which he assures us, in his word, he will deal with men.' We shall see, by-and-bye, that it is inconsistent even with Millenarianism."—Pp. 178, 179.

We would willingly have lengthened our paper, both in the way of disquisition and extract, but that our readers now have it sufficiently in their power to judge for themselves as to the importance and character of Mr. Lyon's book. Few, we think, of those who are really interested in the question, will be willing to dispense with it when reading on the subject. Such will find Mr. Lyon a well-instructed and judicious guide. To those who have been captivated by any of Dr. Cumming's Apocalyptic readings, we would commend it urgently. The appendix (pp. 207—244), contains a review of Dr. Cumming's work on "The End," with Dr. Cumming's counter-criticisms and our author's replies. These papers contain an elaborate investigation of the sense of *γενεα*, in Matt. xxiv. 34—"this generation (*γενεα*) will not pass away till all these things be fulfilled." The controversy is honourable to both parties; and all the five papers are written with spirit, candour, and good-temper; but Mr. Lyon has very decidedly the advantage in the argument.

It will be obvious that there are many topics included in this work, to which, for want of room, we could not by possibility

advert. One feature of the subject, however, we must not entirely overlook—the moral and practical tendencies of the Millenarian system. We referred, sincerely and cordially, in the commencement of this paper, to the religious excellence of some of its advocates. We believe such advocates to be numerous. But we account for this excellence in part from their being converts, some of them late in life, to a new system; a circumstance which, as the history of even Puseyism shows, by inducing earnestness, leads to the development of the higher points of character, irrespective of the peculiar influence of the system embraced. And we are none the less convinced, on account of this admission, of the unhealthy tendency of Millenarianism as a system. We have seen its evil influence in generating morbid imaginations, material religious tendencies, fleshly conceits, superciliousness, and cliquism. The watchfulness it is presumed to cultivate is of a kind that, not being scriptural, often breeds fanaticism, and, *as a rule*, degenerates into either disappointment or nervous irritation. Many impressive suggestions and cautions occur throughout Mr. Lyon's book on this subject, and his sixteenth chapter is devoted to it. We cordially concur in and commend the sentiments which follow:—

“The eminent piety of apostles was not produced by Millenarianism. We regard it as proved in the preceding pages that the apostles were not Millenarians. They did not believe that Christ might come, while they themselves were yet alive, to establish his kingdom on the earth. Even Millenarians will surely not contend that those inspired servants of Christ could be so far mistaken as to have expected that Christ might come again while they themselves were yet in the body. This was not Paul's sentiment when he wrote his epistles to the Thessalonians. In the second of them he rebukes the Millenarianism with which some were seeking to indoctrinate these Christians, and mentions events which were to occur prior to the Saviour's coming, and which have now been in course of accomplishment for 1800 years. Elsewhere we find him expressing his satisfaction at the prospect of being ‘absent from the body, and present with the Lord.’ He had a ‘desire to depart, and be with Christ, which is far better.’ The language of this apostle, in 2 Cor. v. and Phil. i., proves that he was no Millenarian.

“So with the Apostle Peter. We find him saying (2 Peter i. 14), ‘Knowing that shortly I must put off this my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus hath showed me.’ He is referring here to what Christ said as recorded in John xxi. 18, ‘signifying by what *death* he should glorify God.’ The Apostle Peter thus knew, from Christ himself, that he should *die*.

“If these two chiefest of the apostles were not Millenarians, we may be sure that neither were the others. Their eminent piety and devotedness to God was not, therefore, the fruit of their looking for

the *speedy* coming of the Saviour. Mr. Bonar says, in connexion with the passage quoted above, 'We mourn that so many of the saints should disbelieve the nearness of that day.' But the apostles, like ourselves, 'disbelieved the nearness of that day.' Paul warned the Thessalonians against believing its nearness. The apostles rejoiced, indeed, in prospect of its coming, but they had no expectation of its *speedy* coming. The views which they held themselves they taught to the early Christians. It was not Millenarianism, therefore, that produced the eminent piety either of apostles, or of apostolic believers."—Pp. 199, 200.

We shall be sincerely glad to hear that the work we have been considering has proceeded to a new edition. If in time for such a contingency, we would respectfully counsel Mr. Lyon to leave out the inverted commas between which he sometimes places his representations of the views he opposes, thus confounding them with quotations. There is an instance in our first extract, and another in the fifth, where though the reader on proceeding finds that there is no intention to pass the passage off as extract, the effect is still unpleasant. This is a trifle, but Mr. Lyon's book would lose nothing by correcting it, and we would not willingly see any blemish of this kind in a work so deserving of commendation.

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#### ART. IV.—THE SOUND DUES AND LAND TRANSIT DUES QUESTION.

1. *The History of the Sound Toll.* By Scherer. Berlin. 1845.
2. *The Sound Dues in their relation to the Commerce of the World.* (I. and II.) Leipsic. 1854 and 1856.
3. *Diplomatic Correspondence between Denmark and the United States; and Supplementary Documents with reference to the Message of the President of the United States of Dec. 31st, 1855.* Leipsic. 1856.
4. *The Debates on the Sound Dues Question in the Prussian Chambers, 1854-55.* Berlin. 1855.
5. *Report of the Select Parliamentary Committee of the United Kingdom on the Operation of the Sound Dues.* London. 1856.
6. *Germania: a Central Organ of the Economical and Social Interests of Germany.* Heidelberg. 1856.
7. *The History of the Danish Land Transit Dues, with reference to the Cities of Lübeck and Hamburg; and in relation to general Commerce.* By Dr. Fred. Crome. Lübeck. 1856.



8. *The Danish Project of a Capitalization of the Sound Dues.*  
Copenhagen. 1857.

THE question of the abolition of the Sound Dues has assumed a literary importance, by the number of works and pamphlets that have been contributed, especially by German writers, to the elucidation of that important matter. This Sound Dues question, popularly supposed to have reference only to commercial interests, offers ample materials for being treated in a more philosophical sense, affording, as it does, a wide field for the labours of the historian, the diplomatist, and the student of international law. The historian, in tracing out the origin of this most vexatious toll, has to record a varied tale of struggles the different maritime nations of the earth have sustained against Denmark, in vindication of the freedom of the seas. Beginning with the German Hansa, he has to sketch the wars this great commercial league, in the fifteenth century, waged against the Danish exaction. Then, passing to the attitude the other naval powers assumed in the question, the historian has first the melancholy duty of showing how a petty rivalry converted the Netherlands into the enemies of the Hansa and allies of Denmark, thus neutralizing the efforts of Germany in the cause of maritime freedom. Proceeding with his narrative, the faithful chronicler would have to state how the Netherlands themselves, after being the accomplices of the Danish buccaneer, at last turned round upon his growing insolence, and coalesced with Sweden in order to check the Danish pretensions. In the course of this historical *resumé*, some graphic chapters might also be given concerning the intrigues by which Denmark, with the aid of the French court, sought to sow dissensions among her antagonists, or to creep out of the obligations she had solemnly sworn to observe. Nor would more modern times be barren of interest in this respect. Though the struggles which have of late taken place on the part of Germany and the United States, against the continuance of the toll, no longer assume the form of armed resistance, the history of the negotiations on this topic is yet a subject both important and instructive.

The diplomatist, on his part, in turning over the numerous documents connected with the Sound Dues, will be equally recompensed for the trouble he may take in the investigation. He will find himself immersed in a redundant collection of protocols and treaties, the evidences of a statecraft rarely equalled for chicanery and duplicity. It may be safely said, that the careful perusal of the intricate negotiations that have during past centuries taken place on the question of the Baltic

toll, would admirably serve as a fitting introduction to the mysteries of diplomatic double-dealing. On the other hand, the philosophical student of international law may also investigate with some benefit this vexed question. It is true, he will not find in the different phases it has as yet assumed, a proof of the rapid progress of right and justice; but the very absence of such signs, will at least induce him to increase his exertions for bringing about the recognition of more enlightened principles of international intercourse.

We must, however, state here that the question of the Sound Dues, although generally considered from a more extended point of view than commercial topics usually are, has not yet been properly analyzed by public writers. In this country, in spite of the near relations we entertain with the nations of the Baltic, scarcely a publication, worthy of mention, has appeared on the subject. The French, too, albeit ready writers on the questions of the day, are found wanting in this case. Moreover, the few treatises that have appeared in France on the Sound Dues are, though cleverly worded, and with a liberal sentiment pervading them, yet now and again deficient in historical accuracy. The most valuable publications, relatively speaking, on this question, have been produced in Germany. If their scientific solidity could have been blended with the clearness of arrangement characterizing French writers, these German treatises might be considered standard works. But, whatever the outward difference in the style of composition, all publications, whether in the German, English, or French language, arrive very nearly to the same substantial judgment. The press of Europe can hardly produce a single champion to fight the battle of the Sound Dues. The task of defending this venerable iniquity is left to the hireling scribes of the Danish court.

Let us, however, calmly inquire into the origin and the actual working of the Sound toll. Let us quietly examine its effects on commerce; and then ask, in the name of the civilization of the age, whether it must not be pronounced, by all sensible men, a public evil and a flagrant nuisance.

There are three available pleas on which Denmark could alone be able to rest her claims for exacting the toll. Of these pleas, the first is, the general stipulations of the "Law of Nations;"—the second, the "International Treaties;" the third, the title a power derives from traditional possession, or the "Right of Prescription." Now we contend that *neither* of these pleas holds good for the court of Copenhagen.

The Law of Nations recognises no right in any power to subject vessels on the high seas to the payment of a black mail;

and the Sound, although a strait, is, to all intents and purposes, under the denomination of the high sea. It is true that a much-abused custom has been recognised in international law, of permitting the sovereignty of maritime states to extend as far on the ocean as the ocean could be defended from the shore—in other words, the power of the state ends with the range of its guns. To quote but one author of note, Bynkershoek, “on the dominion of the sea,” we find him saying, “*Dominium maris proximi non ultra concedimus quam e terra illi imperari potest;*” and in the same chapter, “*Generaliter dicendum est potestatum terræ finire ubi finitur armorum vis.*” Not that we can accept this as an axiom; for the progress of modern science, in perfecting the instruments of war, and increasing the distance at which they can be effective, would naturally every few years be altering the geographical jurisdiction of all the maritime nations of the world. Yet, if we could hold as feasible so antiquated a principle as the one enunciated by Bynkershoek, even *then* Denmark is unquestionably *not* warranted in her pretensions to the sovereignty of the Sound. It is a well-known fact that the Sound, from its considerable width, cannot be commanded from the shore. In 1658, the Dutch admiral Opdam victoriously forced this Baltic strait, although the Dutch fleet was cannonaded from *both* shores. Again, Nelson, in 1801, by hugging the Swedish coast, steered safely through the Sound, without suffering the least harm in his squadron from the hundred guns of large calibre, which the Danes vigorously worked with shells and red-hot shot. Thus, if the general test of maritime sovereignty is applied, Denmark must be condemned before the international Areopagus. The verdict would be the more certainly against her, as she could not put forward any other pretence of the slightest value in international law. Neither can Denmark assert that the Sound has the characteristics of what is often called a “territorial sea;” for, *one* shore only belongs to her, the other being Swedish; and Sweden puts forth *no* claims to any dues. Nor can Denmark rest her pretensions on the fact of superior soundings or anchorage being found on her side of the strait; for, strange to say, the contrary is the case,—the Swedish coast offering the greatest depth of water!

But if the Law of Nations establishes no valid title for the use of the court of Copenhagen, it may be supposed that the Treaties do? Far from it, however. It is true, the maritime states, in bygone times, have allowed themselves to be saddled with various conventions for the payment of the Dues. England herself, since the treaty of September 25th, 1654, has, at different periods, renewed the agreement then entered into.



But, on the other hand, almost all the naval powers, although for a time consenting to pay the toll, from deference to, or longanimity towards Denmark, have only concluded the treaties for a fixed and limited epoch, always protesting against the legitimacy of this practice of piracy. European history since the middle of the fourteenth century, is replete with struggles and protests against the Dues, and with efforts to bring about a recognition of the freedom of the Baltic. Moreover, the treaties have generally been concluded under certain important reservations; and in any case, at this moment they all have either expired, or are about to expire: there being no provision made which would bind the Powers to renew the conventions after they will have run out their term. Denmark consequently is, even in this respect, without the support of any legal pretext.

It may be interesting here to specify the date of the conclusion of these treaties. The treaty with the United States, signed on the 26th April, 1826, was to last for *ten* years, and one year more after formal notice had been given of the cessation of further payments. The treaty with Sweden, of 2nd November, 1826, was equally for ten years, the same clause being added as in the case of the United States. The Netherlands, on 10th July, 1817, renewed their treaty of 1701, declaring that the new one would only be valid for twenty years. Great Britain has bound herself, in 1841, only for ten years, and the usual year of notice in case of the treaty being renounced. France, on 9th February, 1842, renewed her treaty of 1742 for but ten years. Russia, in 1841, bound herself for twelve years. Belgium, on 13th June, 1841, stipulated for ten years. Oldenburg, on 31st March, 1841, for ten years. The Two Sicilies, on 13th January, 1846, for ten years. Sardinia, on 14th August, 1846, for the same period. Prussia, in the treaty of 26th May, 1846, bound herself for no longer a period than to the 1st July, 1851; six months being stipulated in case of the convention being broken off. It will be seen from this statement that, in all the cases mentioned, the treaties have either ceased to be obligatory, or will be lawfully abrogated in a comparatively short time, as soon as the maritime powers take the trouble of giving notice to Denmark.

It only remains, therefore, for Denmark to appeal to the third plea, to the "Right of Prescription"—that is, to the title which emanates from a traditional exercise of buccaneering. Indeed, the court of Copenhagen, if wishing to make out a case in its favour, can advance nothing better to justify the toll, than the plea of the notorious corsair King Helsing and others having done the same in times heretofore:—

"For why? because the good old rule sufficeth them—

The simple plan:

That they should take that have the power,  
And they should keep who can!"

We apprehend, however, that Europe is hardly in the humour to acknowledge as a "right," in Denmark, a custom annulled at the cannon's mouth before Algiers, whose Dey, no doubt, could boast of as venerable rights of piracy as any that King Frederick can produce.

Having thus shown that all the pretences on which the court of Copenhagen might rest its claims, are as "rotten" as things generally are in the Danish empire, we may well ask now, whether the Sound Dues must not be pronounced by all clear-headed men, a public nuisance and insult? The Black Sea is accessible to the commerce of the world. In the Mediterranean, barbarian Algerine deys are no longer allowed to plunder. Of all the wide seas, the Baltic alone is closed! and only by means of a golden ransom, paid to a petty northern ruler, who owns himself the vassal of the Czar, can the merchant marine of Europe obtain an access to, or an egress from, an important European sea. What reason, we may demand, can governments advance for continuing to pay in the Baltic a tax which at the Dardanelles and in the Mediterranean would be considered a downright robbery? Were the Sultan, who yet holds *both* shores of the Sea of Marmora, to make a similar demand to that of the King of Denmark, whose kingdom occupies but *one* coast in the Baltic, people would not be long in hooting down the "fanatic Turk," and calling out for the despatch of a squadron to the Golden Horn. Were the United States to assume the monopoly over some channel across Panama, and to set up a toll there which would injure general commerce, all conservative statesmen, noble lords, and courtiers, would break out in spasmodic fits of patriotism, and find that the dearest object of their heart was the interests of the world's commerce; and great would be the outcry against the republican robbers of America! But when the question applies to Denmark—the future inheritance of the House of Romanoff—behold! how cautious, how full of longanimity all European courts are.

It appears high time that public opinion should be brought to bear upon governments, in order to effect, *not a redemption and capitalization*, but an unconditional abolition of the Baltic tribute. Right and interest alike dictate strongly the necessity of no further hesitation. After the remarkable confessions which have fallen from the very lips of Danish statesmen, none can assert that any wrong would be inflicted on Denmark by refusing to submit to her insolent demands. In September,

1848, when the United States' Envoy at Copenhagen contested the right of Denmark to levy this toll, Count Knuth, the Danish Minister for Foreign Affairs, in an unguarded moment of good temper, himself frankly acknowledged, that "he was unable to justify the principle of the Sound Dues!" When such is the language of Danish ministers, it would be little short of the most fatuous imbecility in other nations, for a single moment longer to pay the Dues. The only reason, in fact, Denmark ever has advanced for the necessity of continuing the impost is, a reason of *haute politique*,—or, as we might say, of despotic statecraft. With this, however, free peoples, at least, have nothing to do. Their *haute politique* must be to have the highways of the ocean open to commerce, and not to allow the Baltic to become the preserve of some petty power, or the lurking place of some barbarian autocrat. The people of this country, especially as a maritime nation cherishing the traditions of Blake and Nelson, are, before all others, called upon to vindicate this great principle of the freedom of the seas. It has been the traditional boast of Englishmen that "Britannia rules the waves." What meaningless vaunt these words become when Britannia allows buccaneering Denmark to treat the Baltic as a closed sea, and gradually to convert it into a Muscovite lake!

The United States, albeit, financially speaking, they have no very considerable trading interest in the Baltic, justly hold the opinion that the principle of freedom of the ocean is to be maintained intact, under all circumstances. Though the statistical tables only exhibit annually the insignificant number of about a hundred United States' vessels proceeding to the Baltic, it is, nevertheless, the government at Washington which stands foremost in the ranks of those who demand an unconditional and entire abrogation of the tribute. Why, then, should the government of this country lag behind in its exertions? We have before us the official shipping statistics published by Denmark,—statistics, unfortunately but little known to the English public at large; and the results appearing from these irrefragable documents are truly astounding, and must fill with apprehension every Englishman who has the prosperity of his country at heart. A simple glance at these tables, drawn up at the order of the government at Copenhagen itself, at once shows what baneful influence has been exercised of late upon the Baltic trade of this country by the increasing vexations of the Sound Dues, and the other evils attendant upon the payment of that mediæval corsair's impost. From the figures given we see that, since 1849, the number of English merchantmen passing the Sound has decreased to a lamentable extent, whereas the number



of vessels from those countries whose commercial and geographical position is more favourable with regard to the Dues, has increased in proportion to the English losses. Thus, while in 1849 England sent 6,885 merchant ships into the Baltic, in 1850 she had there only 5,448; in 1851, but 4,811; in 1852, but 3,092; in 1853, 4,665; and in 1854 and 1855, when the pressure of war was added to that of the Dues, respectively but 2,042 and 2,424. Consequently, in the years of peace, from 1849 to 1852, there was a decrease of English bottoms of not less than 2,983; or 2,220, if we take the difference between 1849 and 1853.

It would be erroneous, no doubt, to attribute this decrease in the Baltic trade of England entirely to the operation of the Dues. Still, the decrease being a fact, the government and parliamentary representatives of England are only the more called upon to do away with all and any shackles that might restrict the commercial movements of the country. Indeed, a Select Parliamentary Committee has been sitting, last year, to inquire into the question. This Committee, however, for some reason we cannot fathom, has studiously applied itself to one side only of the question, altogether ignoring the other. It has carefully foreborne any scrutiny into the "*right*" of Denmark to levy toll on ships and merchandise between the German Ocean and the Baltic; and it has confined itself solely to hearing the details of witnesses who testified as to the *effects* the aforesaid black-mail has upon English trade. We regret this unsatisfactory, because incomplete, mode of procedure, as well for the interests of the Baltic trade as of the British tax-payer. At a time when Denmark is propounding her "capitalization schemes," it was certainly important that the real origin of the tribute the world is called upon to redeem, should be made clearly manifest. It may be, that historical inquiry of this kind would not have been in accordance with the tastes of the court of Copenhagen.

Still, even by their restricted mode of procedure, the Parliamentary Committee have arrived at conclusions of great importance. In their report they have no alternative but to denounce the collection of Dues in the Baltic channels as "a fertile source of mischief and needless expense." Having given a description of the unbearable pressure that weighs upon the Baltic trade, and made a succinct delineation of the loss of time and money that is occasioned by the detention of vessels, they present us with a picture of the devices by which Denmark obtains a monopoly over all the practicable routes between the German Ocean and the Baltic. The pith of their remarks is the announcement, that the time has come, when, in the interest of British

commerce, the abolition of the Sound toll, as well as of the so-called "Land Transit Dues," can no longer be delayed. But true to the spirit that appears to animate them, of refraining from striking too hard a blow at the Muscovite vassal at Copenhagen, they do not counsel an unconditional abrogation, but will be satisfied with a redemption of the impost. With this latter conclusion we cannot agree. We hold it to be unreasonable that a nation, simply because it has tamely submitted for so long a time to unjust exactions, should now, for that fact only, pay a further tribute, in the shape of ransom, equal to the Dues for fifteen years! What we alone grant Denmark to have a right to, is an indemnification for keeping up the beacons and other institutions of maritime precaution. This indemnification, however, must needs be of too trifling a nature to render it necessary to dwell on so secondary a point.

It would exceed the limits of this Review to sketch out the numberless vexations that are imposed by petty Denmark upon the commerce of all sea-going nations, and to offer a complete picture of the advantages she derives from her system of robbery. Be it sufficient to say that, while in 1756 the Danish state revenue from the Sound toll only reached the figure of 200,000 thalers, in 1770 it had risen to 450,890 thalers; in 1820, to 1,500,000 thalers; in 1844, to 2,258,000 thalers, and in 1853, to 2,530,000 thalers. These are the revenues. As to the outlays Denmark has had to make, they have reached, if we take the year 1855, only the modest dimensions of 300,000 thalers, which comprise the costs of administration, the maintenance of beacons, the payment of pilots, and every other item connected with the toll at the Oere Sound and the Belts. Thus, putting together the income of 2,500,000 thalers, and the outlay of 300,000 thalers, there remains a balance in hand, in favour of poor Denmark, of not less than 2,200,000 thalers annually. After this, it will be understood why Danish authors, in government pay, sometimes humorously call the Baltic toll a "royal dowry" and a "new California" to Denmark!

Of the magnitude of the evils that result to the mercantile interest from the oppressive financial system of the Dues, we need scarcely speak. Heavy duties are not only levied on the cargo and the ship, but a host of minor charges, often in the aggregate exceeding the amount of the Dues themselves, are likewise imposed upon the luckless trader. An example of this system, in the shape of an agent's account, was submitted to the Committee, showing that the "Dues, properly so called," amounted only to one-fourth of the whole charges for which the owner of a cargo was made liable. The remaining three-fourths consisted of minor items, some of which are sanctioned

by treaty, whilst others bore the mark of the most barefaced extortion ; for which, however, as the report properly says, it is impossible to obtain redress. Indeed, the Baltic merchants all declare that they are entirely in the hands of their agents. Though fully convinced of the iniquity of these imposts, they have no means of checking the rapacity that levies them, unless they enter into a lengthened correspondence, which, considering the peculiarity of Danish proceedings, it would be difficult to assign any probable limit to.

The manner in which the Danish Government evades the very rules it has itself laid down for collecting the toll, contributes still further to make confusion worse confounded. According to former treaties, a charge of one per cent. was to be made upon articles exported into, or imported from the Baltic ; but in reality goods are now much higher rated. Thus, the duty upon coffee, sugar, wine, rice, cotton, spices, iron, and several other articles, rises above one per cent. Nay, according to the evidence of one of the Liverpool manufacturers, who exports salt largely to the Baltic, the duty levied upon that article is even twelve per cent. ! Indigo, according to another witness, pays at the rate of 10s. to 12s. a chest, while the whole charge for freight upon that article to St. Petersburg is only 8s. ; so that the duty is 2s. more than the actual freight ! Upon worsted yarn, the duty is nearly 1d. a pound ; the freight being about 6d. a foot, or about 20s. a ton, while at 1d. a pound, the Sound Dues will amount to £9 10s. a ton !

If to all these charges we add the exceptional expenses incurred by captains who, for the sake of clearing their Dues, are compelled to go on shore,—if we consider, moreover, that the roadsteads, where the ships are forced to lay, offer very unsafe anchorage in spring and autumn, and that either from this circumstance, or from the attempt of ships, pressed for time, to proceed through the dangerous channel by night, frequent accidents, entailing great expense, occur,—if we still further remember the well-known fact that, at Elsinore, the honesty of captains, as well as of the crews, is most injuriously influenced by the worthless agents who are herded together there to profit from the weakness or ignorance of the seamen, it will easily be conceived in what a detestable manner the trade of the world is oppressed by the tyrannical nuisance established at the entrance of the Baltic.

But bad as all this is, worse remains behind. “Competent persons,” says the Parliamentary Report, “such as shipowners and those who have commanded vessels in the trade, have stated to the Committee that the loss of time (consequent upon the collection



of the Dues) may be estimated, on an average, to amount to one day in the voyage; for, though it would be possible to comply with all the requirements connected with this impost in a few hours, yet, owing sometimes to the loss of a favourable wind, or to the circumstance of a number of ships arriving at the same time, or to the arrival at a time when the custom-house authorities were not bound to attend, or to the inducements which present themselves to the captain and crews when on shore, to remain longer than they need,—vessels are said to be detained occasionally for periods varying in time from one day to three months; instances having been mentioned where, owing to this delay at an advanced period of the season, vessels have been unable to quit the Baltic, and have *remained in that sea during the winter!*”

Indignant at these chicaneries, trade has, from remote times, endeavoured to create routes less expensive and less hampered with difficulties than the maritime ones domineered over by Denmark. A glance at the map will show that this task is comparatively easy. Instead of passing through the Sound and the Belts, commerce may take its way, either on land or by canal communication, straight across the peninsula which separates the German Ocean from the Baltic. And this latter route, leading as it does through Schleswig-Holstein, has even the advantage of presenting the shortest, the most secure, and a very cheap mode of conveyance. It avoids the tedious, roundabout way through the Skager Rak and Cattegat. It is also free from the dangers that surround the ship-passage into the Baltic; and it is, at least for all light and costly goods, by far the most preferable mode of transmission. No wonder that the two chief emporia in the Northern Seas, Hamburg and Lübeck, have for centuries, taken a deep interest in establishing this transit on a proper footing.

Denmark, however, with her spider-like instinct, was ever on the watch to obstruct all those routes which might compete with the passage through the Sound. Jealous of her toll privileges at Elsinore, Nyborg, and Fridericia, she did everything to *force* commerce to take the maritime route; and with this view, purposely neglected the better and cheaper roads across the peninsula. Thus, the ancient high road, which from immemorial times served as a connecting link between the Baltic and the German Ocean, was reduced by Denmark to such an abominable state that Sir Edward Codrington declared it to have “more the appearance of a road broken up by a retreating army than of a communication between two vast seas.” Thus, again, the high road of Oldesloe was left for

generations in a condition of absolute unserviceableness, and all complaints of injury to European traders were of no avail.

Nor did the government of Copenhagen behave more honestly with regard to the canals that lead across Schleswig-Holstein. There is between Lübeck and the Elbe, a well-known water passage, the so-called Stecknitz Canal, which Napoleon I. intended rendering navigable even for large sea-going vessels. From the refusal of Denmark to permit the necessary repairs, this important canal was left to decay. Another canal, that had been proposed to be established between the rivers Alster and Trave, could not be formed on account of the unwillingness of Denmark to grant the required concession. To a third proposition, of rendering the Eider Canal, between Tönning and Kiel, serviceable for sea-going vessels, the court of Copenhagen interposed its refusal, and, moreover, burdened that water-route with heavy transit dues.

When railroads were introduced into Europe, Hamburg hastened to demand from Denmark permission to establish a direct transit by rail. But although the whole line, according to the proposition of the Hanse Towns, was to be made with the money of *German* capitalists, and although it would have passed through the *German* territory of Holstein, yet Denmark pertinaciously refused to allow the construction of the desired railway. Shameful to say, the two most important trading towns of the North, Hamburg and Lübeck, are, up to this hour, without a direct railway communication. The only railway at present existing is that through Büchen, which, however, thanks to Danish oppression, is forced to branch off in almost a rectangular direction, and is, moreover, burdened with transit dues so heavy, that the expenses of the transmission of goods are exceeded by the Danish duties. The injustice of this impost is the more glaring, as the railway, so heavily taxed by Denmark, has been entirely made at the expense of a German company, Denmark not contributing a farthing. The damage resulting to the English trade from these land transit dues may be gathered from the single statement, that English manufactures and other English produce to the amount of £1,500,000 already pass annually from Hamburg to Lübeck. On these goods (which would soon be doubled and trebled if the transit dues were abolished), Denmark levies the enormous tax of five schellings, Holstein money, per cwt., and of six per cent. more in the form of "fees." This fact becomes still more monstrous, when we consider that *Russian* productions which pass from the Baltic into the German Ocean, are wholly exempted from land transit dues—a circumstance clearly showing that the com-

mercial policy of the court of Copenhagen is but the agent of the Northern Autocrat.

After this rapid glance at the injurious effects of the Sound Dues, we come to the history of the opposition that has been offered, in various epochs, to the unjustifiable policy of Denmark. And here we must begin with observing, that the honour of the first and most energetic resistance against the Sound toll is to be attributed, as stated in the earlier part of our Review, to that great and powerful commercial league, the German Hansa.

The interest of the Hansa, from its earliest foundation in the thirteenth century, was to maintain the freedom of the seas. Her ships ruled the waves from the farthest corners of the Baltic to the German Ocean, and her factories were to be found, not only in all the important towns of Northern Germany, but also in Norway, in Sweden, in Denmark, in England, ay, in distant Russia. The paramount object of the Hansa was, to keep a good maritime police in the Baltic and the German Ocean, to resist all attempts at piratical imposition, to exterminate the buccaneers that infested those waters from time to time, and to protect industry and commerce against all frivolous taxation. The power of the Hansa in the first centuries of her existence was fully up to this task. Her gigantic commercial navy and war-fleet, the splendid state of her finances and federal exchequer, and the numerous victories of her arms, established Hanseatic prestige all over the North, and even in farther countries. The power the Commercial League then wielded may be gathered from the fact, that the burgomaster of the single town of Dantsic could declare war against the King of Denmark, and that, in 1428, a fleet of 248 Hanseatic ships, and 12,000 warriors, was sent against Copenhagen. The name of the Hansa at that epoch was everywhere respected and dreaded. She was victorious in her struggles against the kings of Norway. Her friendship was eagerly sought by England. A Swedish king was deposed by her arms, and his crown transferred to a German prince. No wonder that this proud league of traders resisted with all its strength the first attempts that were made to establish dues at the Baltic Straits. It was originally but an insignificant toll the Danish Crown levied at the Oere Sound. There was only a tax on salt and wine, together with some shipping dues of little amount. Yet the Hansa, justly fearing that these impositions might be considered as a precedent, and thus become one day a danger to commerce, demanded imperiously the abrogation of the toll. When the Danish King, Waldemar III., refused to comply with this request, the maritime and military forces of the



Hansa were brought to bear upon his obstinacy, and the result was that he gave in by a formal treaty. All Hanseatic towns were exempted from the dues *for evermore*, as the treaties have it.

However, it would be erroneous to suppose that even the signal defeat Denmark had suffered could make her desist from her cherished schemes. The treaties which had been so solemnly sworn to, were violated at the first opportunity. Hanseatic ships were again arrested in the Sound, and forced to pay down a ransom in hard cash. Consequently, a renewal of hostilities ensued; and the Hansa having gained fresh victories, her privileges were confirmed once more in several conventions, of which those of 1443, 1477, and 1524, were the most notable.

But the mischievous Danish policy still hankered after eluding the stipulations it had bound itself to observe, and longed to re-establish that fruitful source of easy income—the toll at the Sound. The lever that was set to work to attain this end was *the rivalry existing between the Hansa and the Netherlands*. Danish intrigue whispered into the ears of the Netherland rulers, that the most efficient means for breaking down Hanseatic supremacy would be to allow Denmark to establish a system of annoying dues, in order thus to fetter the freedom of commercial movement which constituted the vital principle of the Hansa. This Machiavellic insinuation appears to have found favour with the then influential powers in the Netherlands, especially so with Charles V., Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, who held the Low Countries as a Spanish fief. Charles V.—that gloomy tyrant in whose character there was nothing of German frankness, but much of the churlish malignancy of a Spanish monk—must be ranked among the most envious and most intriguing enemies of the Hansa. An antagonist of all civic freedom—an aspirant to unlimited dominion, he everywhere—in Germany, in Spain and the Netherlands—laboured to undermine the liberty, the greatness, and the commercial prosperity of the hated towns. He it was who incited the German princes to make war upon, and annex to their own possessions, those flourishing, semi-republican cities which were scattered then all over the German empire. It will not be astonishing, therefore, that he should also eagerly have availed himself of an opportunity to injure the interests of the Hansa. He did so in the Treaty of Spiers, 1544, in which the Low Countries recognised formally—for the first time in history—the legality of the Sound toll, only stipulating for themselves some paltry, and more apparent than substantial privileges. This formal acknowledgment of the Dues, under the auspices of the powerful Emperor of Germany, acted as a mighty encouragement for

Denmark, whose rulers henceforth pretended to the right of raising the impost to any extent, according to their own discretion.

It is an error commonly prevailing among French writers, even among those hostile to Danish pretensions, to consider the Treaty of Spire of 1544 as the first attempt at a "limitation" of the Sound Dues. There is nothing in history to warrant this opinion. The first and successful endeavours to get rid of the iniquitous tax were made, as we have shown, by the Hanseatic League; and the Treaty of Spire, on the contrary, was a piece of profligate state craft, calculated to establish the Danish pretensions on a "legal basis." However, in the long run of times, the result has proved that the Netherlands, though by their unworthy behaviour they obtained for a number of years some benefits for themselves, had yet acted in a very shortsighted manner. No sooner had Denmark obtained from them the recognition of her claims, than she began reducing by degrees the privileges even of the Low Countries, imposing *also upon them* the yoke under which the commerce of other nations groaned. This is the best proof of the incalculable damage that has been done by the tyrannical Charles V. to the trade of Germany and of Europe in general.

When the glory of the Hansa declined more and more, and its members successively fell off from the once powerful League, the courage of Denmark waxed strong in proportion. Both the Netherlands and Sweden—although the latter, during the time of the "Union of Calmar," had obtained a complete exemption from all dues—were now to be subjected by Denmark to the same rule as the flags of other countries; one tax after the other being arbitrarily imposed upon them. They were forced to keep maritime passes and certificates of their cargo. Their ships, when appearing at the Baltic channels, were rigidly examined; and heavy dues levied as well on the cargo as on the vessel, besides considerable fees under various other forms, such as "registration," and similar flimsy pretexts. These unbearable acts of oppression roused Sweden and Holland to resistance. The Dutch perceived at last the injury they had inflicted on their own interests, by wilfully undermining those of their German brethren of the Hansa; and they tried to retrieve by arms what they had lost by the diplomatic pen. It was high time to resist Danish audacity. King Christian IV. had pushed impudence so far as to declare the Sound to be "part and parcel of his territory," through which he "was at liberty to refuse passage to whomsoever it pleased him." He advanced his right to stop by force all merchandise at the entrance of the Baltic, and to allow the transit only after the

payment of taxes which he raised sometimes to incredible proportions. This capricious policy endangered the very principle of maritime intercourse. The arrogance of a petty despot neutralized a communication nature itself had indicated! Exasperated by such insolence, the Netherlands, allied to Sweden, demanded, in 1643, in uncompromising terms, the "freedom of the Sound for all nations." The demand was backed by the appearance of a united Dutch and Swedish fleet before Copenhagen. At the same time, the Swedish generals sorely wounded the Danish power in several battles, forcing at the point of the sword upon the court of Copenhagen the Peace of Bromsebroe (1645), in which Sweden obtained again a complete immunity from the dues. The subsequent treaties of Rothschild (1658), and of Copenhagen (1660), confirmed their exemption; and even more, Sweden obtained the cession of the three provinces Denmark hitherto had possessed *on the other side of the Sound*. Thus, one of the most cherished titles, advanced by Denmark for the dominion of the Sound—the possession of both sides of its shores—was from that time lost to her kings.

Vanquished by Sweden, the court of Copenhagen yet succeeded at least in evading to some extent the demand of the ally of Sweden—the Netherlands. Against these latter, the King of France offered his aid to Denmark; and the consequence was, that Holland merely obtained a revision of the tariff by the Treaty of Christianstad, 13th August, 1645. Yet even this paltry boon was not without some drawback, as subsequent events have shown. One of the clauses of the treaty with the Netherlands was worded in so dubious and hypocritical a manner that, when the time of danger had passed away, Denmark, with her traditional audacity, suddenly came forward with a novel interpretation that signified for Holland the payment of new taxes and fees. The most shameful quibbling, in this respect, arose about the question whether Denmark was compelled to keep beacons and similar maritime institutions of security. As may be conceived, the other contracting parties of the treaties of Christianstad and Bromsebroe had considered this to be understood of itself, and had, therefore, neglected the insertion of a formal clause in the treaty to that effect. It seemed so natural that the power which levied toll at the Baltic Straits should take upon herself the providing for the security of these straits, that none thought of a special provision on this point. Founding her case on this accidental omission, Denmark denied having any obligation to light the coast, and exhibit warning signals for the merchant marine. Christian IV. ordered all the fires, beacons, and buoys to be removed; the ships had to grope their way in the dark; and it was only



after the Netherlands had consented to a further payment of fees that the signals were re-established, and the coast once more illuminated.

Our object not being here to enter into ample details, but merely to indicate the leading points of the history of the Sound Dues, we pass over many other equally characteristic transactions that took place between the Netherlands and Denmark. We will merely venture a remark, with reference to France, which had supported the court of Copenhagen against Holland. The commercial interest of France in the Sound Dues question has always been most insignificant, as the statistics of the number of French ships that pass annually into the Baltic will easily demonstrate. This may give a clue as to how France could stand on the side of Denmark without injuring her own interests. Moreover, the attitude the court of Versailles exhibited in this question, is easily explained by the traditional policy of the Bourbon dynasty, who have always availed themselves of every opportunity to inflict injury on the independence, the unity, and the commercial greatness of the German empire. *To weaken Germany*, was the paramount and leading idea in the policy of the French kings. With this view, they did not scruple to espouse causes the most different in political and moral value. They supported the barbarian cause of the Turks who invaded Germany,—the cause of the German Protestants who battled nobly against the tyranny of the Catholic Kaiser,—the cause of the petty German princes, who acted from a miserable and anti-national dynastic ambition,—and the cause of the Danish pirate, who violated every principle of international law. This was the policy of the French kings abroad, while at home they professed to cultivate Catholicism, centralization of royal power, and free navigation. To the court of Versailles, the morality of the means employed was of the utmost indifference, if they only promised success. Its sole and unique aim, in its relations with the German empire, was to bring about the ruin of the latter;—and as the Sound Dues constituted an injury to German interests, the French kings readily upheld them.

The attitude of England, at that time, presents nothing remarkable. This country did not then possess that powerful share in maritime affairs which she has since acquired, as the first seafaring nation of the globe. The naval greatness of England had yet to be founded; the germs of the colossal policy of Oliver Cromwell had yet to be developed, before she could interfere in maritime matters with a high hand. Thus we see, that, in two consecutive treaties, England only came second in rank after the Netherlands, feeling happy to be able

to share the privileges of the last-named power. (Treaty of Christianstad, 13th June, 1645; and Treaty, signed at Westminster, 25th September, 1654.)

We have described how the fall of the Hansa had encouraged Danish pretensions, and how the military and maritime victories of allied Sweden and Holland were rendered valueless through France:—atleast, for one of these powers. It remains now to show by what means even Sweden was made to succumb again to the toll! In the treaty of Bromesbroe, we have said, Sweden had obtained for herself a full immunity from all dues. This immunity was confirmed by the Treaty of Rothschild, and preserved intact from 1645 to 1720, during the reign of Charles XI. and Charles XII. At the death of the latter, however, whose military reverses unfortunately strengthened Russia, *Muscovite influence* so completely obtained the upper hand at Stockholm, that, under the weak reign of Ulrike Eleonore of Sweden, and her consort, Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, the Swedish government gave up all its Sound Dues privileges. (Treaty of Fredericksborg, 1720.) This act was essentially the result of Russian policy. The subsequent cession by Sweden of the provinces of Livonia, Esthonia, Ingria, and a part of Viborgslaen, completed the destruction of Swedish power in the Baltic. (Peace of Nystaedt, 1721.) Henceforth, Russia arose there as a pretender to maritime supremacy; and soon we see Denmark, the “guardian of the Sound,” act, at the entrance of the Baltic, the part, if we may say so, of a Muscovite sentinel.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, when Sweden sank back into the obscurity, from which it had temporarily emerged, during the great struggles of the Reformation and the reign of Charles XII., another important realm was founded on the confines of the Baltic—*Prussia*. From the low station of German burgraves, the rulers of Brandenburg had risen to royal dignity, and gradually cut out for themselves (it is true, not so much by the sword, as by petty larceny, and the practice of legacy-hunting,) a kingdom, which soon overspread a great portion of Northern Germany. The decline of Sweden essentially aided in establishing, on a grander basis, this new Prussian realm. A considerable part of those German provinces on the Baltic, which Sweden had acquired during the Thirty Years' War, were ceded to Prussia, at the death of Charles XII. Thus, Stettin, and a portion of Pomerania, up to the Peene, became Prussian, in 1720. Considering the extensive trade Stettin carried on from the Baltic to the German Ocean, it will be understood that Prussia, from the moment she had

made these territorial acquisitions, became highly interested in the question of the Sound Dues.

The duty which devolved, therefore, upon the Prussian sovereigns, was clear and unmistakeable. The commercial interests of their subjects required the speedy abolition of the toll, and the re-establishment of those exemptions Stettin and other Baltic towns had enjoyed when the power of the Hansa was still in the ascendant. In this sense, too, a number of enlightened men sought to influence the policy of King Frederick-William I. We see that in 1715, during the war which allied Prussia and Denmark waged against Sweden, an agreement was come to between the courts of Berlin and Copenhagen, which secured to the sea-towns of Anterior Pomerania (Stettin and others), an exemption from the Dues, "for now and evermore." Unfortunately, the treaty had never its proper effect. Danish intrigues were set on foot to remove from the court of King Frederick-William I., those persons who were supposed to be antagonistic to the interests prevailing at Copenhagen. Sad to say, the intrigues were crowned with full success. The chief Prussian minister, who had distinguished himself by his opposition to the Sound Dues, was driven out from office, when the crafty policy of Copenhagen had it again all its own way. The agents of Denmark, taking advantage of a royal revel, produced during the festivity a draft of a treaty, in which the toll was explicitly recognised; and *the Prussian sovereign, in a fit of vinous humour, gave his signature to it*,—thus sealing the commercial oppression of his own realm. (Treaty of Stralsund, 18th December, 1715.)

In vain the Berlin government afterwards strove to reverse the treaty. Danish diplomacy always got the better of Prussian intentions. Muscovite influence, too, which had become paramount at Berlin ever since the partition of Poland, was henceforth actively at work, to hold the policy of Prussia in leading-strings, and to support the pretensions of Denmark, which were considered by the northern autocrats as identical with their own. During the reign of Frederick II., one solitary effort was made to overthrow the Convention of Stralsund. For a short time the king was successful; but his military ambition, and the constant occupation in which his successors were involved, in beating down the growing spirit of liberty, left to the despotic court of Berlin little time to look after the commercial concerns of the realm. The Prussian sovereigns had established their kingdom, not from any national, German point of view, but merely from the considerations of dynastic ambition. No wonder they cared little about the trading interests of Germany, and were more eager to construct for themselves, out of the



bleeding limbs of the nation, an empire they held together by the iron grasp of their military despotism.

When, by the treaties of 1814 and 1815, the last remnants of Swedish possessions in Germany reverted to Prussia, the Berlin government naturally had even a more pressing inducement than before to effect the abolition of dues weighing so heavily on the Baltic towns. Yet, no steps in this direction was taken. In the same way as the German nation, in return for the sacrifices it had made in the war against Napoleon, was rewarded by yet greater political oppression; so, also, its commercial interests were sacrificed in 1815, by dynastic intrigues. Frederick-William III. as little kept the oaths he had taken for establishing constitutional freedom as he carried out the promises to promote the commercial prosperity of his own realm, and of Germany in general. At the Congress of Vienna, the question of the Sound Dues was scarcely alluded to by the Prussian plenipotentiaries. In the subsequent negotiations, which took place on the subject, Count Dohna granted to Denmark every claim, utterly sacrificing the interests of the Baltic ports. To characterize these negotiations, we need only say that not a single competent man of the German mercantile classes was admitted to them. Everything was left to a few very "well-born," but very ignorant individuals, more bent upon securing absolutism and feudal privileges than the welfare of German commerce. Count Dohna himself, the descendant of a long line of haughty "Junkers," whose forefathers had lived by pouncing from their robber-nests on the peaceful merchant, was a man little adapted for questions of this kind. He had neither the will, nor even the necessary knowledge to grapple with the subtlety of the shrewd Danish agents. He and his aristocratic colleagues saw with but small pity the burdens that were imposed upon the industry of the nation; for every impediment to the extension of the wealth and prosperity of the popular classes, was considered by these worthy noblemen as a direct advancement of the feudal interest. Thus, in the treaty that was ratified on the 17th June, 1818, Prussian commerce was laid prostrate at the feet of Danish *bon plaisir*.

Can we, however, wonder at this issue, when remembering that the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Prussia, Count Bernstorff, was *himself a Dane by birth*?

The subserviency exhibited by the court of Berlin towards Denmark bore, in due time, its natural fruits. Even the tariff, agreed on in the treaty of 1818, was despotically altered by Denmark, and new taxes introduced. All complaints remained without any result. Strong in the secret support of Prussia, Denmark laughed to scorn the grievances of German merchants.

The original tariff was augmented to the tune of four and five per cent. more than the stipulations of the treaty warranted. The "additional duties" on the ship were raised from six thalers to thirty and forty-eight thalers for the ship! The town of Stettin alone had thus been fleeced, in contradiction to the treaty, of not less than 40,000 thalers, in 1827; 67,000 thalers, in 1835; 70,000 thalers, in 1836,—these sums merely constituting the extra charges, made over and above the "legal" tariff! If it is considered how heavy the Sound Dues of themselves are, it may be guessed what profit Denmark has drawn, from thus charging and overcharging the commerce of the world.

At last these arbitrary exactions created in Northern Germany a general indignation. In 1838, at the expiration of the treaty of 1818, which had been concluded for twenty years, the commercial bodies of all the Baltic ports of Germany raised their voice energetically for an immediate revision of the Sound Toll conventions. The clamour being universal, the court of Berlin could not but make some promises to inquire into the matter. A royal cabinet order of June 5, 1838, granted "a thorough and sifting inquiry;" but, as usual, nothing resulted from the promises of the Prussian king. They were only made to appease for a moment the public excitement. It has become known subsequently that the king, at the same time that he apparently played the champion of commercial interests, *was secretly in correspondence with King Christian of Denmark* to lay the whole matter again on the shelf! It is true, the Prussian ministry, in their report to the king, amply proved in what injurious manner the Sound Dues impeded the commerce of Prussia and the countries behind it, and how greatly the price of colonial produces and other transmarine articles was enhanced to the disadvantage of the consumer, the producer, and the trader. German merchants, when reading these ministerial reports, naturally thought their cause reposed at last in safe hands. It was, however, all a delusion and a snare. The king of Prussia merely intended occupying for a time public attention, planning in the meanwhile a despicable intrigue with the court of Copenhagen.

Up to this time England had never appeared in the foreground in the negotiations for an abolition or a revision of the hated Dues! However, in 1841, the merchants of Hull demanded, in a petition addressed to Parliament, that government should be called upon to accomplish such a revision of the tariff as would facilitate English commerce with the ports of the Baltic. Mr. Hutt, who directed the attention of parliament to this subject, declared in energetic terms that if government had understood the great importance of English trade with the

North, it could never have acknowledged the antiquated and injurious claims set up by Denmark for impeding the free ingress to, and egress from the Baltic. The Sound Dues, Mr. Hutt declared to be an institution in contradiction to every accepted principle of international law, and opposed to the universal customs of the civilized world,—a flagrant offence against every sound maxim for the regulation of traffic.

The motion of Mr. Hutt, supported by Sir Robert Peel, led to the exhibition of apparently greater zeal on the part of the English government for bringing about a reduction of the tariff. Still the result was a very insignificant one,—a treaty being concluded between Denmark, Great Britain, and Sweden, in which merely a few paltry reductions were granted, without any total reform being brought into operation. (Treaty signed at London and Helsingör, 13-23 August, 1841.) This pettiness of result is to be laid at the door of Russian policy, which supported the Danish cause, and also to the want of energy in the Prussian government. For, though the "Commission of Commercial Men," which had been appointed at Berlin, had declared unreservedly for a complete *abolition* of the Dues, without any "capitalization" or other "indemnification" to Denmark, Frederick-William IV. yet consented, at the demand of the Danish court, to separate the German cause from that of England and Sweden, and to treat individually with King Christian VIII. This "separate treatment" was, of course, but a cover for new treachery. It is true, to save appearances, a great fuss was made for some time by the Prussian government about reprisals to take place,—a menace being held out that Danish ships would henceforth be compelled in Prussian ports to pay double harbour-dues and other additional taxes, in case the court of Copenhagen should remain obstinate. Public opinion in Germany was, doubtless, favourable to these measures. The merchants of the German coast of the Baltic hailed with delight the prospect of active procedures.

Suddenly, however, on the 26th of May, 1846, the Prussian treaty of 1818 was renewed! A few modifications only were introduced, concerning the duties levied on cotton, raw sugar, and one or two other articles. But, in return, the government of Berlin consented to hand over in future to the Danish *douane* an officially attested declaration of the contents and value of all cargoes going out of Prussian ports through the Sound. (Ordinance of the Prussian Ministry of Finance, 17th June, 1846.) By this engagement the Danish custom-house officials were enabled henceforth to tax commerce according to the highest calculations of value.

There was another occasion for the government of Berlin to



get rid, once and for ever, of the Sound Dues, viz., during the Schleswig-Holstein war in 1848 and the following years. The national enthusiasm of Germany, at that epoch of popular excitement, ran high; it was ready to make every effort, in order to do away with Danish arrogance. But at the Prussian court there was no desire of rendering profitable the sacrifices Germany then made against Denmark in blood and treasure. We know that some patriotic men had conceived the plan of conveying a German army from the German island of Rügen to the Danish island of Falster, and thence to Seeland, in order to decree the abolition of the Sound Dues in the royal palace at Copenhagen itself. But Frederick-William IV., counteracting as he did all national movements, was unwilling to carry out this bold project. He sent the youth of Germany to be slaughtered on the battle-fields of Schleswig-Holstein, not to secure national power or freedom, but to more firmly establish the might of the enemy.

Ever since 1848, public manifestations in Germany, as well as in Sweden, have been made to produce a renunciation of the Sound Dues treaties. The deputies of the wholesale Merchants and Shipowners at Stockholm have issued forth bold protests, declaring with indignation against the pretensions of Denmark to "enforce a toll upon a power to whom actually one shore of the Sound itself belongs." It is, indeed, something monstrous, that even the towns of Sweden, though that country touches both the Baltic *and* the German Ocean, should pay a toll for merchandise they exchange mutually among themselves. Yet this is the fact. Any Swedish ship, passing, for instance, from Gothenborg to Carlsrona (which towns are both Swedish), is obliged to steer over to the opposite Danish coast there to pay the Dues. Facts like these reveal the whole monstrosity of the toll system. It will, therefore, be easily understood that in Sweden indignation is at its height. The anger is the greater as Denmark owes to Sweden a heavy debt of gratitude for the military support she has received from the latter during the Schleswig-Holstein war. Sweden, in that war, espoused the cause of Denmark, and aided in opposing the just claims of the German provinces. In return, Swedish ships are imposed upon in the same way as ships of any other nation!

As to Germany, we observe in the yearly memoranda published by the Chambers of Commerce there, a regular allusion to the necessity of abolishing the Dues. The merchant corporations of Stettin, Dantsic, and a number of other towns of Germany, do not cease denouncing the Sound Toll as an "unbearable fetter to the freedom of commerce," an "insufferable nuisance," an "ulcerating cancer, which ought to be cut out, and must be cut

out." In the same strain the subject was treated in 1854 and 1855, in the Prussian Diet. On the 20th December, 1854, the motion was made in the Second Chamber of Prussia, that "with a view to the most important commercial interests of the country, the House thinks it necessary that Government should take, as soon as possible, decisive measures for the abolition of the Sound Dues." In the First Chamber, on the 28th February, 1855, the motion was brought in, that "the House should recognise the pernicious influence of the Sound Dues on commerce and the shipowning interest in Prussia, and that the House expects that Government will leave no opportunity unused to procure the abolition of the Toll." In both Chambers these motions were agreed to; in the First Chamber by a great majority, in the Second *unanimously*. The speeches made on this occasion contained some unusually strong language. Some of the speakers declared, amidst the applause of the House, that Prussia ought to renounce the treaty of 1846; and if, after the expiration of the convention, Prussian ships were arrested at the Sound, "the act of so doing should be regarded as piracy or a declaration of war." So strong was the feeling at these debates, that the ministers of Frederick-William IV. themselves voted, in their quality as deputies, in favour of the motion. Baron Manteuffel even acknowledged explicitly the illegality, viewing it in the light of the law of nations, of the tribute Denmark levies upon commerce. But those who have studied Baron Manteuffel's parliamentary tactics might easily have detected that the concurrence he expressed with the wishes of the country was only intended to appease for awhile public wrath, and that the Prussian government would pursue their old policy of disgraceful hesitation as soon as the agitation would flag. "Government"—these were the words of Baron Manteuffel—"are, I can assure you, deeply convinced of the important results which an abolition of the Dues would have for the Baltic trade and the Baltic provinces in general; and it is one of the first objects of Government to take care of this question. However, if the great doings which people expect, are to be attended with success, they can only be accomplished at the proper moment; and according to the present situation, the most fitting introduction for them will be not by words, but by *silence*." (Protocol of the Debates of April 18th, 1855.)

To "silence" public opinion and public agitation has ever been the chief aim of Prussian rulers, in accordance with the famous dictum, that "obedience is the first duty of a citizen." Silence once obtained, it was easy for the Berlin camarilla to carry out, undisturbed, their anti-national policy.

We have now arrived at that interesting point in the history

of the Sound Dues when we find the exaction opposed by one of the youngest, but nevertheless strongest powers of the earth, viz., the Republic of the United States. We think, however, the events connected with the attitude America has assumed in this question to be of so recent a date as to render it unnecessary for us to enter into ample details. We have before us a vast amount of correspondence carried on, since 1848, between the United States' Embassy at Copenhagen and the Cabinet at Washington on the one hand, and the American and Danish governments on the other. The language made use of in these official papers by the Transatlantic Republic is of a terse and nervous diction that our mealy-mouthed diplomatists would shudder at uttering. There is no toying with phrases in these straightforward documents. The Sound Dues are there stigmatized, without reserve, as "a tribute similar in character to that levied of old by the corsair deys of the Mediterranean;" and the United States, without mincing the matter, bluntly declare that they will no longer submit to a system of insult and robbery which has no better excuse than the musty customs of a piratical tradition. It is something refreshing to the luckless reviewer, whose task it has been to wade through a heap of courtly and garbled documents, to come in his weary journey, amidst the shifting sands of diplomatic language, to an oasis of such clear and honest-spoken views.

Unfortunately, the United States in 1848, when the most fitting opportunity presented itself for obtaining a complete abolition of the toll, allowed themselves to be decoyed from their purpose by an appeal Denmark made to American generosity. In their intercourse with the Danish government, the United States had openly acknowledged "that Germany," which was then at war with Denmark, "had the justest claim to insist, in the peace negotiations, on an unconditional abolition of the Dues." But instead of making common cause with Germany, the cabinet at Washington thought fit to give Denmark breathing-time. The settlement of the question was allowed to stand over till the conclusion of the Schleswig-Holstein war. It needs no conjurer to tell that no sooner was the war at an end, than the court of Copenhagen was once more riding the high horse, and screwing up its courage even to menacing the United States with an appeal to arms, in case their ships should dare to pass the Sound without payment of the required fees. The correspondence consequently grew more and more angry, both parties insisting on their demands with equal pertinacity. In a terse note of five lines, dated "State Department, 8th November, 1853," Secretary Marcy roundly declared, *that his government would never consent to the redemption*



of the *Dues*, nor agree to an indemnification in any form whatever, but simply demanded the unconditional abolition of the claim. The Presidential Message of 31st December, 1855, was equally firm. It contained a formal notice that, after the lapse of another year, the merchant marine of the United States would cease to pay any further dues.

June 14th, 1856, had thus been announced as the day from which the American vessels were to run free through the Sound and the Belts. But that day quietly passed by, and the vessels of the United States continue, as heretofore, though under protest, to pay toll at Elsinore, Nyborg, and Fridericia. Still, the threatening note from Washington had the effect of so frightening the Danish court, that it hastened to assemble the so-called "Sound Dues Conferences" at Copenhagen, in order to attempt making some plunder out of a very insecure claim, while there was yet time, and before infuriated America should abrogate it altogether at the cannon's mouth.

However, though the Conferences had been sitting last year for many months, no conclusion was come to. At the instigation of the Russian plenipotentiary, M. de Tengoborski, King Frederick of Denmark brought before the Conferences a "capitalization scheme" of so preposterous a character that not even those powers which were favourable to the redemption project, could be induced to consent to the Danish proposition. Of the subsequent negotiations we know nothing authentic. The only official document that has recently come to our knowledge is the Danish draft of a treaty which stipulates *the enormous sum of 30,570,698 rix dollars* as the price for which King Frederick is willing to give up his corsair practice! Thus, with an assurance scarcely to be credited in so petty a power, Denmark declares that either the toll will continue to be levied for evermore, or the maritime nations must submit to pay a heavy indemnification by way of redeeming the Dues. According to this statement, Great Britain—the "mistress of the Ocean"—must be mulct of about ten million rix-dollars before she can ransom her shipping from the marauding hands of Denmark!

It is no matter for wonder that Russia should have consented to this arrangement; for, were the capitalization scheme carried out, Russia would either be allowed by Denmark to evade payment, or in case the Czar should think it prudent to contribute his mite, he might,—with his reversionary claims to the Danish crown still extant,—consider his share but so much money vested in his own exchequer. Thus, no monetary disadvantage would be inflicted on the government of St. Petersburg, whilst the sudden replenishment of the Danish treasury, by the con-

tributions of other states, might enable Denmark the better to carry out the incorporation of the German provinces of Schleswig-Holstein,—another course of policy full of advantages to the Czar.

We are surprised, however, how the English government could even for a moment entertain propositions like these. If there is a fact of which all Englishmen are convinced, it is that their position as a nation is due to their influence on the seas. The brightest pages of English history, the chosen theme of the national bards, have ever been this ocean-rule. The people of this country, from the time when Cromwell and his great captain, Blake, gave them the seas for an inheritance, have always viewed with patriotic jealousy the attempt of any power to place restrictions on maritime communications, or advance theories incompatible with the freedom of the ocean. Now the Capitalization Project, as propounded by the court of Copenhagen, is a theory the acknowledgment of which, by Great Britain, is at once a virtual surrender of that mighty naval influence that has been for centuries the key-stone of English power and the monument of English renown. In claiming a "redemption" of the Dues, the court of Copenhagen asserts its title to treat the Baltic as a *mare clausum*. It plainly declares that no vessel can enter that sea without a firman of the Dey of Denmark. In other words, capitalization is piracy reduced to a theory and a system. Great Britain is required to declare, on parchment, with all necessary legal formalities, that her trade with Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, is only carried on by virtue of the merciful consideration of the Danish ruler, and that, should he, in his august pleasure, drive back the mercantile marine on its arrival at Elsinore or the ports of the Belts, no exception could be taken, as he would in this be merely exercising a lawful act of maritime sovereignty!

It may, perhaps, appear to many to be of little matter *in what way* the Sound Dues are got rid of, and that "the trifle of some thirty million rix-dollars" should not be too strictly looked at, provided the end be obtained, and the merchant marine be exempted in future from annoyance. But these easy reasoners have not reflected upon the consequences which must unavoidably result from acknowledging the rights so arrogantly pretended to by Denmark. Does it not stand to reason, that in paying down a capitalization ransom to the court of Copenhagen, Great Britain invites all the maritime states of the globe to draw largely on her exchequer and her forbearance? Only let England formally recognise the right of Denmark to the absolute possession of the Sound, and there will arise a host of maritime difficulties all over the world, from which this country can only

extricate itself by continuing this expensive game of submitting to the demand of every state that chooses to turn buccaneer, and bully the nation out of its gold. Hitherto, the disrepute into which the Danish government had fallen acted as a check upon the greediness of other maritime governments. But if England recognises, as a right, Denmark's demand for a redemption of the toll, the false diffidence of many a would-be robber will speedily vanish, and this country will have the satisfaction of contributing its treasure to the exchequers of many a fifth-rate power, only too glad to avail themselves of British money.

There remain, lastly, two contingencies to be taken into account, which, however remote they may appear at present, are yet worthy the attention of statesmen. Suppose all the European powers to be infatuated enough to consent to the payment of an indemnification, and the United States alone maintaining their proud refusal to yield,—what other consequence would ensue but that either America would boldly rid herself of the Sound Dues without the sacrifice of a dollar, or that the European powers would have to make war upon her in order to compel the Transatlantic Republic to bow down to the demands of Denmark? Insane as such a proceeding sounds, the official gazette of Copenhagen has not hesitated to suggest its adoption!

The other contingency we intend alluding to is no less calculated to arouse public vigilance. It has crept out, that in July last, Russia advised the Danish court to employ the amount acquired by the pecuniary indemnity *in thoroughly and efficiently fortifying the Sound!* So that Europe, by committing such an act of folly as paying for a redemption from the Dues, would be absolutely furnishing the means for rivetting the chains on her trade. If these facts do not induce the advocates of the "Sound Dues Capitalization" to reconsider the utility of presenting Denmark with a round sum of some twelve million rix-dollars—most probably to be so employed in fettering the freedom of the Baltic—we pity their infatuation, and look with apprehension into the future.

K. B.

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#### ART. V.—EUPHRATES VALLEY ROUTE TO INDIA.

*Memoir on the Euphrates Valley Route to India.* By W. P. Andrew.  
8vo. London. 1857.

ONE of the most remarkable phenomena of the present age is unquestionably the tendency of the stream of civilization to return towards the regions from whence it originally flowed;



and it perhaps may not be presumptuous to suppose that this great object formed part of the scheme of Providence in allowing that monstrous wickedness, the late war against Turkey, or even our own otherwise unjustifiable usurpations in the East. The old saying, "*lux ex oriente*," has now long ceased to be true; and the relative positions of Europe and of Asia have been for so many centuries decidedly the reverse of those which formerly prevailed, that the adage requires to be modified, if it be intended to express by it any reference to the source of the principles regulating the tone, manners, intellectual expression of nations, or, in fact, the infinite number of social refinements which go to constitute a civilization. Twice already in the history of our race, the country watered by the streams of the Tigris and of the Euphrates, has served as a cradle for the infant nations of the world; and all European arts, languages, civil polity, and literature appear to owe much of their present character to the genius of the Iranian stock, which there first assumed a distinct political organization. For many centuries, alas! man has laboured assiduously to deface the noblest gifts of his Maker in these favoured regions; but after ages of bad government and neglect on the part of its native rulers, there would seem now to be a probability that the facilities offered by the physical configuration of this country to the traffic between our island and its ill-gotten eastern dominions, may compel Western Europe to endow Assyria with the strong and honest government it alone requires to enable it to resume sooner or later its position in the family of nations. The law which thus continually carries forward the progress of civilization is a very awful, but in the main, a very consolatory one; for like all other laws of Providence, it works decidedly for the temporal, and we hope with equal certainty, for the spiritual progress of our race. Yet at times, the deeds it calls forth are so equivocal that it is hard to trace their connexion with any scheme of good; just as, to cite one instance, it is hard to discover the moral justice of our dominion in the East. But that dominion is now a great fact; and the question only is, how can we make it a source of blessing to those under our sway? This object, no doubt, will be materially assisted by bringing the inhabitants of the East, who are apathetic from their long misrule, into direct contact with the more active and energetic nations of the North and of the West; and again, the necessity for a strong government to protect the traffic between the various portions of our empire, will compel us to secure the tranquillity of the country through which it passes. The mere fact, then, of our establishing a new line of communication between Europe and India must, under existing

political arrangements, prove a source of benefit to the lands it traverses; and, therefore, it is that we regard the various projects for adopting the Euphrates Valley for that purpose as presenting an interest, and as suggesting considerations of far greater moment to the moral philosopher than they do even to the capitalist or to the merchant. To our minds, there is a species of cosmic, we had almost said of a religious importance attached to the subject, to which, moreover, early associations connected with the names of Babylon and Nimroud, Bagdad and Bussorah—with the Medes and Assyrians, Saracens and Turks—are indissolubly attached.

The idea of using this particular route is by no means of modern origin, for the Euphrates Valley has been one of the highways of communication between the East and the West whenever the country itself has been tolerably quiet; but of late years, Europeans had almost entirely lost sight of these regions, notwithstanding the publication of Chardin, Niebuhr, Morier, and Ker Porter's travels, about the end of the last or the commencement of the present century. The expedition of General (then Captain) Chesney in 1830, and the subsequent brilliant discoveries by Messrs. Layard and Botta of the ruined cities upon the banks of the rivers, brought it, however, again prominently before our public in general, and especially before the persons interested in our commercial relations with India; and now there would appear to be a strong probability that within a very short period the Euphrates may again be made to render useful service to the comfort and happiness of our race. Companies are being organized for connecting the river with the Mediterranean, or for the execution of a continuous line of railway along its banks, and thence through the wild regions upon the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf to the network of Indian railways; nay, even it would appear, if we may judge by their actions, that the commercial arrangements of some of these bodies are sufficiently advanced to warrant them in appealing to the public for the funds to execute their works.

Entertaining the opinions we so decidedly do upon the subject of the Euphrates route, it must be supposed that it is with regret that we feel compelled to warn the public against entering upon any of these schemes on the strength of the information now before it. The geographical, political, and engineering documents we possess are indeed of the most vague and unsatisfactory character, and sure we are that the execution of a parish road would not, in this country, be undertaken in accordance with the suggestions of reports so utterly worthless in a scientific point of view as those which are quoted in Mr. Andrew's "Memoir," or which it has been our lot to read in other pro-

ductions on this question. It is marvellous, indeed, that the men who can write such manifest nonsense should be selected to conduct difficult inquiries; still stranger is it that a nation of shopkeepers should risk its money upon the faith of their assertions. The so-called scientific publications upon the inter-oceanic communications across the Isthmus of Darien have already given us one illustration of the ease with which ignorant assumption passes current with us;—the hydrographical part of the reports upon the Euphrates Valley furnish a second. Until much more elaborate observations have, therefore, been made by competent persons, prudent men ought, we think, to confine themselves to the expression of a general approval of the idea, or to the promotion of a really scientific investigation of this region.

The common sense of the communication with India by the Euphrates, seems to us to be, as Mr. Andrew suggests in his text—which does not agree with his map, by the way—to execute a railway connexion between a good port on the Mediterranean and some point upon the navigable portion of the river, and upon the latter to place efficient steamboats to connect with the deep sea navigation of the Persian Gulf. Where are these termini to be placed? Such is the problem to be studied; and it is precisely on the score of the insufficient evidence with respect to it that we object to Mr. Andrew's Memoir, or indeed, to any decided action at present. A mere inspection of the maps hitherto published confirms the opinion, that the railway should commence either at Seleucia, or at a point near the mouth of the river Aaszi (we quote Arrowsmith's Atlas), and be carried along the banks of the latter to Antakia and Aleppo; from the latter city (the shadow, alas! of its former splendour), the course is more difficult, and requires careful study, for it is possible that it would be easy to carry the road across the ridge which separates the water-shed of the Aaszi from that of the Euphrates, and to join the latter near Rajik, or it might be preferable to follow the Aaszi as far as Tedif, and cross the ridge near the head of the Mambedj, one of the small affluents of the Euphrates. The execution of a railway in such a country would be a work of difficulty, no doubt, but at the present day it would not cause an engineer acquainted with the works of the Tyrol, Switzerland, Saxony, or the United States, to feel the slightest hesitation. Indeed, the only "consideration which would give him pause," would be with respect to the cost; and a minute examination of the bounding ridges of the two valleys, and a careful series of levels through the various passes which might be discovered, are required before any estimate of this part of the undertaking can be made. Then, supposing the



line of railway through the summit ridge to be settled, would arise the questions as to where the navigation of the Euphrates should begin, and how should it be effected?—both of which must depend upon the conditions of the flow of water from the feeding grounds to the various affluents, and upon the longitudinal section of the river itself. Of these we know nothing, and are, therefore, utterly unable to speak with confidence.

The ordinary character of rivers flowing from lofty mountain chains in low latitudes, and through plains, parched and scorched by a nearly tropical sun, is certainly such as to induce us to believe that the opinion of the officer quoted at page 49 of Mr. Andrew's Memoir is really correct, and that during the dry season the Euphrates would not be navigable, or to use this officer's own words, "that the river would dry up into pools." It is true that the great chain of the Ararat presents so many peaks covered by eternal snow, and the hills around Erzeroum and Diabekir are sufficiently elevated to warrant the assumption that the river may be more than usually regular in its volume; but it would be dangerous to take measures to establish a navigation upon a mere assumption of this kind, and the difficulties attending the navigation of the Rhone ought to furnish many warnings and many useful lessons to the parties charged with the investigations it is evidently necessary still to make as to the volume of the Euphrates during the autumn. Very probably, the course of the Euphrates above the Nar Matcha may be more regular than that of the lower portion, because in the upper part of the basin the evaporation cannot be very great, and in the lower part no affluents are poured in able to compensate for this potent cause of diminution. It is also probable that an artificial junction of the Euphrates and the Tigris, through the Nar Matcha, might secure a more uniform depth of water, because the mountains of Kurdistan and Louristan present physical conditions such as to warrant us in assuming that the rivers they feed would have flood-periods different from those of the rivers fed by the loftier and more northerly range of the Ararat. Nothing, however, but careful observations can enable us to form any opinions of value on such points; and these observations must be carried over several years—sixteen or twenty, at least—before any element of certainty can be said to prevail in the calculations upon which to base the arrangements for the navigation. Yet it is coolly asserted, because two or three isolated attempts at mounting or descending the Assyrian rivers have succeeded, that they are navigable at all times! How little do our blind guides appear to be aware of the magnitude of the phenomena which they will eventually have to deal withal! Why, neither in Horsburgh's

Directory, nor in Bruck's "Survey of the Persian Gulf," are there any trustworthy observations upon the tides of the embouchure of the united streams of the Tigris and of the Euphrates! Still less do we possess any trustworthy soundings or levels of the non-tidal portions of those rivers; and the remarks by General Chesney upon the rapids, described by himself as Nos. 25 and 27 (see pp. 26, 27 of Mr. Andrew's Memoir), prove that he is utterly ignorant of the laws of hydraulics. Either his facts with regard to the fall, or to the depth of water, or to the current, are wrong, for it is impossible that a stream which he had previously stated to be from 250 to 500 yards wide, with a general depth of eight feet, and a mean velocity of only two miles an hour—to take the most favourable view of the case—should, as in the instance No. 27 cited, retain a depth of four feet nine inches whilst it attained a velocity of five miles per hour, and when the inclination was so great as two feet in seventy. This is an assertion we should only have expected to meet with in a blue-book, so characteristic is it of official incapacity or of official presumption.

With all that Mr. Andrew says upon the importance of the commercial relations to be opened up by carrying the Indian traffic, or even a portion of it, along the Euphrates route, we most cordially agree; and, indeed, our only ground of objection to his remarkably well-written Memoir, so far as he only is concerned, is that he should have quoted, as scientific documents, the offhand conclusions of parties who ought to have known better than to lay before the public such incomplete and unsatisfactory evidence. It may be that the Euphrates is navigable at all times from Ja'ber Castle to the mouth; at present, however, there is no evidence that it is so, and, indeed, from our own experience of warm climates, we are disposed to suspect that this would be found to be very far from being the fact. Should our suspicion be correct, it might still be worth while to continue the railway to a lower point upon the river, but then the great commercial and industrial question arises—Will it pay? No doubt, Turkey would gain immeasurably by such an investment of British capital, and humanity might also gain, but neither nations nor individuals are, we conceive, required to act upon mere Quixotic motives, or gratuitously to sacrifice their own interests for the benefit of a race which despises and dislikes them. To our minds, the Turkish government are the parties most deeply concerned in the execution of the works necessary for reviving the importance of the historic lands upon the banks of the great Mesopotamian rivers, and it, therefore, should be urged to furnish a great portion of the requisite funds. Most decidedly do we assert, that at present the English

public is not in possession of sufficient information to warrant prudent men in entering upon the execution of even the moderate scheme of a railway from Seleucia to Ja'ber Castle, and thence descending the Euphrates by steam-boats. Still less would they be justified in attempting a grand Euphrates Valley Railway scheme; whilst the project for continuing the railway from Bussorah, through Persia, Beloochistan, &c., to the Deccan, is so wildly absurd that it could only have appeared feasible to the writers of second-class Parisian papers, or the *gobemouche* who does the translations for the *Times*' "own Paris correspondent." When a great undertaking of this description is entered upon, it is always difficult to foresee the extent of the obligations it entails. It becomes, therefore, the more important that the preliminary studies should have been carefully made; and really the skill with which Mr. Andrew has put together the small amount of information to which he has had access, and the tone of earnest sincerity with which he pleads the cause he has adopted, make us the more regret that we should be compelled to write unfavourably of his scheme. Mr. Andrew, and his friends who are interested in the Euphrates Valley Route to India, may depend upon it that, for their own sakes, it would be wise for them to cause the physical conditions of that region to be studied by parties who would be able to observe and record the phenomena which are likely to affect its results. We repeat that any operations undertaken upon the faith of the documents hitherto published, are far more likely to result in failure and disappointment than in success.

By the way, what very funny French the officials of the Euphrates Valley scheme write! Why do they not employ some competent translator to put their documents, necessarily couched in that tongue, into a respectable form?

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## Brief Notices.

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SILVER SHELL; or, the Adventures of an Oyster. By Charles Williams. London: Ward & Lock. 1856.

SOME nurses administer physic in sugar, and some writers dose the public with science in a similar manner. The authors to whom we refer mix together such a compound of heterogeneous knowledge, that no mortal could have the fortitude to make a voluntary attempt to appropriate it, if it were not administered in honied words. The



books such men write are loaded with scraps of poetry, sentimental commonplace, striking anecdotes, marvellous discoveries, and pretty incidents, and are intended to excite interest by an appeal to the imagination, or the love of the marvellous. The writers themselves are in an unhealthy state of mind; and, morally unobjectionable as their books are, they are injurious, for nothing is more debilitating to the human mind than listless reading. The want of the world is for strong thinkers, and they are educated by full, terse writers. Such books want the natural tone which pleases children, and they are too unartistic to gratify an educated taste. They only serve as a pabulum for the superficiality of the foppish men and prudish women who desire to appear intelligent observers or diligent readers, and to gain credit for an intelligence to which they have no title. Such books we denounce as we would any other false things. Mr. Williams's "Silver Shell" does not indeed belong to this class of books, though it is not altogether free from many of their faults. His pages are too frequently occupied by scraps of poetry, and many of the pleasant things he says are about objects having a very remote relationship to the subject of his essay. His science is for the most part accurate, and that is high praise for a book intended to be both popular and elementary, but we cannot say that his statements are *always* correct. It is not true that the chemist "can no more compose a single fluid or a single solid of an organic body, than the comparative anatomist, who having, with Cuvier-like tact, selected, arranged, and articulated all the bones of an eagle, an antelope, or a man, can endow the skeleton with life." It was true a few years ago: it is not true now. Nor does the author appear to be much more proficient in geology than in chemistry, or he would not have said that "the crust of the earth consists of some thirty or forty strata of various thickness, arranging themselves into a very few grand groups." Such errors, however, are not numerous, and will not seriously affect the usefulness of the book, which is written in a pleasing style, and in a healthy tone, by a man of extensive reading and varied information. Hoping that a second edition of "Silver Shell" may be demanded by the public, we will venture to offer a few suggestions to the author. Would it not be desirable to state that the oyster belongs to that class of animals called conchifers, explaining, perhaps, the difference between the Brachiopoda and the Lamellibranchiata, and marking the distinction between the Conchifers and Cephalophorus Molluscs. This should certainly be done so far as relates to the shells, and we think that if the author is as conversant with the science of zoology as he is with literary composition, he possesses the ability to write an anatomical and physiological description sufficiently simple and precise to interest his readers. He would lead his pupils out of their depth by discussing vexed questions in relation to the family Ostracea, but a description of the genera Anomia and Placuna would not be out of place, and there can be no objection on the plea of limited space, as he can find a page for such a very distant relation as the Octopus, an animal of whom it can hardly be said that its relation to the oyster is "as the species to the genus." If we may make one other

suggestion, we would propose a chapter on the geological history of the Ostracea family, embracing the Gryphœa, and this might be made one of the most interesting in the book if the author would resolve to give information, and think less about making it popular. "Silver Shell" is, however, a book we can recommend, with some reservation, to our readers. It describes the origin, birth-place, anatomy, and shell of the oyster, and traces the history of the animal from the egg to the costermonger's stall, and of the shell from its formation to the lathe of the pearl-button manufacturer. It will be an acceptable book to youth; and persons of maturer age, who have not lost the habit of thinking, will learn from its pages much they desire to know. Those who wish further information will probably find it in a report which will be published in the next volume of the proceedings of the British Association.

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EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES ON THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS. By Thomas Toller. Pp. 335. London: John Snow, Paternoster Row.

IN this little work, our author steers the middle course between a method too critical and dry, and one that is superficial and unsatisfactory. At the same time, these Discourses are highly practical, and breathe the spirit of fervent piety. The author is careful to show the tendency of the Gospel, its adaptation to produce holiness, renovation of character, and spirituality of mind. Nor must we close this short notice without awarding him his proper meed of praise for the sober elegance of his style. We think the theological student especially will find his account in the perusal of this little manual. We have read it ourselves with great pleasure, and we may say, with equal profit. We are indebted to the author for some new ideas on the exegesis of this Epistle. We are glad to find that the late Mr Toller, of Kettering, the intimate friend of Robert Hall, has so evangelical and so able a successor in the person of his son, the writer of these Discourses. We commend the volume as perhaps the best exposition in our language on this part of Scripture.

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FAITH IN GOD AS TO TEMPORAL THINGS. An Account of the Rise and Progress of the New Orphan House, Ashley Down, Bristol; under the superintendence of the Rev. G. Müller. Houlston & Stoneman. London: 1856.

THIS book consists, in part, of a short biography of Mr. Müller; in part, of an account of that most useful institution, the Orphanage, at Ashley Down. In many respects, we feel this little work is removed beyond the range of ordinary literary criticism. Mr. Müller's history is probably known to most of our readers. The peculiar principle which he advocates is, that contributions for religious objects should be entirely unsolicited, and that both ministers in their individual capacity, and religious enterprises generally, should depend for support directly on the Great Head of the Church, who, in answer to prayer, will supply every want, through the unso-

licited aid of Christians. This is not the place to do more than merely mention this principle: its application and discussion we leave to others. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Müller has uniformly acted upon it. Irrespective of this, he is not only an eminently useful minister, but well known as the founder of a remarkable institution, the New Orphan House, built and supported entirely on his peculiar principles. At present, besides teachers, &c., it contains 300 orphans, who are admitted without influence or patronage, simply in the order in which application had been made for them. Mr. Müller intends, as soon as possesses the necessary means, to add to the institution, so as to make it capable of containing 1,000. While, for own part, unable to agree in all Mr. Müller's views and practices, we are bound to add that this little book is not only instructive and interesting, but equally free from mere enthusiasm or spiritual pride—dangers which we might apprehend in the case of any of his followers less simple-minded or devoted than Mr. Müller and his coadjutors are.

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A LETTER TO J. A. ROEBUCK, ESQ., M.P., Chairman of the Administrative Reform Association; with an Analysis of the Divisions in the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament as regards the City and Metropolitan Members. 2nd Edition. London: Published by the Association. 1856.

SECOND LETTER TO J. A. ROEBUCK, ESQ., M.P., Chairman of the Administrative Reform Association; with an Analysis of the Divisions in the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament as regards Members for Boroughs enfranchised by the Reform Act of 1832. London: Published by the Association. 1856.

THIRD LETTER TO J. A. ROEBUCK, ESQ., M.P., Chairman of the Administrative Reform Association; with a full Analysis of the Divisions in the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament. London: Published by the Association. 1857.

THESE are three of the latest publications of the Administrative Reform Association. They would at any time deserve a careful perusal, but at a time when a general election cannot be far distant, they are worthy of special attention. They are lucid in their arrangement, clear and forcible in their style, and pregnant with facts calculated equally to surprise and to instruct the public. It appears that during the last session of parliament there were 198 divisions in the House of Commons. From these one metropolitan member was necessarily absent—Lord Ebrington from very severe indisposition. But the record of the attendance, or rather the *non-attendance* of the other metropolitan members will be read with astonishment. Of the 198 divisions, Mr. Montague Chambers was absent from 132, and his colleague Mr. Rolt, from 153; Sir John Shelley from 100; Mr. Alderman Challis from 169, and his colleague Mr. Duncombe, from 177; the two members for the Tower Hamlets each from 142; and the three sitting members for the City from 154, 161, and 169 respectively. After this it would be amusing to turn back to the hustings' speeches of these honourable gentlemen, and refresh ourselves with their promises of untiring diligence and zeal in the





announced a measure for the settlement of the Church-rate dispute ; and the horrible creaking of the new Burial Board machinery all over the country, necessitates immediate improvements in legislation on that subject. Other items also belonging to the same category will have to be canvassed and voted upon in the national Palaver, or Parliament, as that august body is styled in the language of our Norman conquerors. Of course, therefore, every intelligent man ought to keep himself *au courant* on these matters, and in order to this he cannot do better than familiarize his mind with the pages of the *Liberator*. It is the church-reformer's *vade mecum*—a perfect storehouse of facts, arguments, and testimonies on all ecclesiastical questions. We have read the numbers regularly from the beginning, and can honestly speak to the diligence, conscientiousness, and vigour with which the editor does his duty. The advantage to the party of progress in having such a "chiel" to watch, record, and print, for present and future use, the sayings and doings of both the friends and foes of Church reform, is immense. Captain Cuttle's maxim, "when found, make a note of," is his motto ; and the good sense with which he comments upon the multifarious and valuable information which his industry amasses, is no less commendable than the lynx-eyed vigilance which routs it out.

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ON TRUTH AND ERROR: Thoughts in Prose and Verse on the Principles of Truth, and the Causes and Effects of Error. By John Hamilton of St. Ernan's. Cambridge. 1856.

MR. HAMILTON has been accustomed, in order to assist his own researches after truth, and to test the worth of what he imagined he had discovered, to write out his thoughts, sometimes in prose, sometimes in verse ; and in this volume he has collected the very miscellaneous contents of his manuscript drawer, in order to put the public in possession of the results of his researches. It is quite impossible for us to discuss with Mr. Hamilton the numerous questions about which we differ from him : his mental vision seems to us entirely inverted. Here and there we find some keenness of thought and vigour of expression ; but there is nothing in "Truth and Error," which was worth saying at all, that has not been said far better elsewhere. We are sorry that a gentleman who seems to be seeking truth with such simplicity and honesty of purpose, should have so grievously missed his way.

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IMMORTELLS FROM CHARLES DICKENS. By Ich. London. 1856.

No intelligent reader of Charles Dickens's earlier works will be inclined to think that the world will easily forget him. Though we deeply regret his want of earnest homage for righteousness as distinct from mere good-nature, and think that from first to last he has been flagrantly unjust to religious people and religious institutions ; though his mannerism is becoming almost intolerable, and we sometimes take our monthly dose of "Little Dorrit" as a stern duty instead of rejoicing over it as a pleasant refreshment,—our remem-

brance of "Sketches by Boz," "Pickwick," "Nicholas Nickleby," and "David Copperfield," is too clear and bright to permit us to speak of their author's genius as anything less than marvellous. The writer of this handsomely got-up book thinks that some of Mr. Dickens's admirers are in danger of forgetting his graver excellences in their riotous laughter at his fun, and in order to show that there are some immortal elements scattered through Mr. Dickens's humorous works, he has woven together a series of extracts, with illustrative criticisms and moral reflections of his own. We doubt not that many of Mr. Dickens's admirers will find it a pleasant book for a winter's afternoon by the fireside, or a summer's evening ramble in the country.

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SUNDAY, THE REST OF LABOUR. By a Christian. London: Newby. 1856.

THE title of this volume hardly intimates its scope and object. The "Sunday question" occupies a very subordinate position among the miscellaneous but very important subjects on which the author pronounces judgment. From the Sabbath, he passes to what he calls "Sabbatarian Religion," and criticizes the whole structure of the religious thought and practice of British Christians. Places for public worship, public worship itself, the Christian ministry, are all objected to as mere human inventions, and unfriendly to the spirit and tendency of the Gospel. "A Christian" thinks we have no trace of the existence of anything like a system of public worship in the apostolic age! We think a more careful reading of the apostolic epistles would have helped to complete the author's preparation for writing this book, of which he gives us an account in his first chapter. There are some indications of real mental vigour in the book, but the author would have to travel a long way before he found his equal in recklessness of statement and inconclusiveness of reasoning.

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THE FRENCH PASTOR AT THE SEAT OF WAR. Being Letters Written from the East. By Émilien Frossard, Protestant Pastor in the French Army before Sebastopol. Translated from the French. London: Nisbet & Co. 1856.

M. FROSSARD was one of those whom the French Protestant churches sent to minister to their co-religionists engaged in the deadly conflict with Russia. He brought to his arduous mission, piety, energy, zeal, experience, and liberality, and he earned the highest praise: he was successful. But as his stay in the East was comparatively short, and he made only a visit to the camp of the Allies—chiefly confining his labours to the hospitals of Constantinople—we can scarcely expect to find in his little book, comprising the letters which he sent to his family in France, all the information which we would fain derive from it. We are glad to learn that every facility was given to him by the French military authorities—that a number of Protestants, both men and officers, welcomed his arrival—that some of them seemed truly pious, and devoted to the cause of truth, and that this undertaking pros-



pered, both in reference to its immediate objects, and in gaining a recognition for our French Protestant brethren in the army. We especially rejoice that the Protestant churches in France entered on this work. As for the merits of the book itself, we are sorry that we cannot speak of them in very high terms. There is, to our taste, too much about M. Frossard himself in the book—about the horrors of his sea-sickness—what, how, and where he ate and drank, and other things of the same kind, which, however interesting to himself and his family, are not so to the general public. The observations on the journey are also sometimes of a commonplace character. We could have wished for more information about the field of labour and its success, or, at any rate, less about what is only ephemeral, and will principally interest M. Frossard's personal friends. So much, however, have we gathered from this little book, that there is in the French army a great and important field for Christian labour, and that able and zealous labourers, like M. Frossard, are not wanting.

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EXPOSITION OF THE TYPES AND ANTITYPES OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT. By the Hon. Lady Scott. London: Richard Bentley. 1856.

THIS neat volume contains a series of lectures on the principal Old Testament types, and on the history of the Lord and His Apostles, meant for family-reading. The exposition is general but correct, and the style very plain and pleasing. We wish we could have absolutely commended a book, manifestly written with such good intentions. But even were we to pass over a number of statements, which, theologically speaking, are not quite accurate, there are other errors which we cannot pass by. Thus, to our mind, an undue importance is attached to partaking of the Lord's Supper, as if in itself it were calculated to do absolute good. Our authoress finds allusions to it everywhere—even in the rainbow after the flood. Besides, she is apt to assume what at best is dubious, and sometimes manifestly fabulous. Thus, the Apostle John is put into a cauldron of boiling oil, but miraculously preserved; Peter is crucified and Paul beheaded at Rome—a church being erected over the place of their martyrdom, &c. On the whole, the noble authoress has manifestly a clear view of the way of salvation; but it almost appears to us as if the head were more concerned in the religion of this volume than the seat of the affections. Gladly would we welcome so earnest an advocate, if she spake to the *hearts* of her countrywomen about that marvellous *love* of the blessed Saviour to them, and taught them not only to believe, and to go through the various duties of a Christian, but to *love* and to devote themselves to His service. We welcome our authoress as one evidently interested in the truth, and in the cause of Christ, and who sees it her duty to employ her talents, and to use her station in His service. Perhaps, the *tone* of her teaching is necessarily connected with her subject. We hope to meet her again: the next time not only instructing, but affectionately guiding her readers to light and love.

SIGHT-SEEING IN GERMANY AND THE TYROL, IN THE AUTUMN OF 1855. By Sir John Forbes. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1856.

THIS is decidedly a very dull book; indeed, one very disappointing, whether considering the subject or the author. Sir John Forbes has travelled over some of the most interesting portions of the Continent, and come back to give us the veriest details, and such every-day descriptions, as may be found—only much better and more fully—in almost every ordinary “guide-book.” That such a traveller could not have communicated some fresh, or at least vivacious observations, we cannot believe. He passes through Prussia, Austria, Hungary, and he has nothing to say about the intellectual, moral, and social state of the people. We do not require his information: everybody knows that Leipsic is “a very handsome town;” that Berlin “stands in a dreary plain of sand;” that Prague “is a splendid city;” and other similar commonplaces. An excellent account of the principal sights, buildings, &c., of the various towns on the Continent, is found in “Murray,” and is accessible to every tourist. Apparently, our traveller had left his ordinary identity at home, and gone to the Continent, simply a “seeing machine.” Of such there are plenty, at home and abroad. However, the book may be useful to any who have not exactly made up their mind what route to take during their holiday on the Continent.

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TEN PASSAGES OF THE NEW TESTAMENT RELIEVED FROM DIFFICULTIES ON A NEW PRINCIPLE OF INTERPRETATION. London: J. R. Smith. 1856.

THE “new principle” illustrated and pleaded for in this pamphlet is briefly this, that the books of the New Testament were written in Hebrew, and that, perhaps, the translation into Greek was not always successfully and accurately performed. The two passages, out of the ten that are brought forward, which are most to the purpose, are those from St. Matthew’s gospel; but it will be remembered that it is no new idea that the original of this gospel was in Hebrew—antiquity is unanimous in affirming it. Some of the other passages seem to us injured rather than amended by the application of the “new principle.” The anonymous author writes modestly and simply, but we do not think he will gain many converts.

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FAMILY PRAYERS ADAPTED TO PORTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By William Burt Whitmarsh. London. 1856.

MR. WHITMARSH has already published a collection of Family Prayers founded on lessons selected from the Old Testament, and extending over the first thirty-two weeks of the year; in this volume, which is arranged to harmonize with a series of readings from the New Testament, he has completed his work. By embodying in the prayer the substance of Scott’s Commentary on the Scripture lesson, Mr. Whitmarsh secures a kind of unity in the household service, and at the same time escapes the monotony of thought and subject which generally pervades manuals of this sort. As the book is based on Scott, it is unnecessary for us to say that its spirit is thoroughly evangelical.

The author's literary qualifications, however, are scarcely equal to his task. His introduction of passages from the Scriptures is often very clumsy, and the style generally has very little freedom or life. His pages are loaded with the phrases that disfigured and encumbered the writings of the evangelical school at the close of the last century, but which we thought had almost disappeared. A good book of Family Prayers has yet to be written. Why should not the servants and the children take audible part in the service? If a simple, devout, and thoroughly evangelical "Liturgy for the Household" were drawn up by some man equal to the work, it would be welcomed, we are sure, by thousands of Christian families as an inestimable acquisition.

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THE PLEASURES OF HOME. A Poem, in Two Parts. By the Rev. John Anderson, Minister of Kinnoull. London: Hall & Virtue.

AN agreeably written little volume in the manner of "The Pleasures of Hope" and "The Pleasures of Memory," but without the originality requisite to secure it a place with those poems. The verse, however, is smooth, and the sentiments excellent; and the book will afford its readers an hour's pleasant recreation.

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## Quarterly Review of German Literature.

TAKING the literature of a nation—both in its quantity and in its quality—as our index of its actual state and future prospects, the Germans are truly a great people. What indefatigable industry, what stores of learning in every department, and what depth of investigation meet us at every turn, even when only attempting to survey or classify the productions of a single year! Nor are these chiefly, or even largely, the barren speculations or unimportant disquisitions which self-sufficient ignorance would represent them, but studies and labours with which *we* as well *they* are concerned. Let us not be misunderstood. It does indeed appear to us that new ideas and new directions do not generally *originate* in Germany; but they find there a congenial soil, in which they take root, and rapidly spring up from mere germs into stately trees. Both what is good and what is evil, what is transitory and what is eternal, in the development of Germany has, we believe, very often come to it from this country. As the patriots of Germany look wistfully to our political institutions as the models for theirs, so most of the great moral impulses, for good and for evil, have come to Germany from our own island. Protestantism and Rationalism, and latterly, Evangelism and Churchism, in Germany, have received their first impulse from Britain.

It has become too much the practice among us, either indiscriminately to decry, or indiscriminately to laud what is German, simply because it is such. Those who cannot, or who will not think and



read, have always recourse to some general statement, on which to fall back as on a bulwark for their ignorance and apathy. Not to be guilty of one or other of these errors, we require to dismiss all prejudice, and to study not only the literature of Germany, but also its people and their history. We shall understand Rationalism all the better, when we recognise in it the real as well as the legitimate successor of the old Lutheran rigour of orthodoxy, which deemed the Calvinist, if possible, worse than the Roman Catholic, and placed the matter of religion in rigid adherence to Lutheran formularies. The spirit of life which had fled from Formalism and Rationalism, reappeared in the "Pietists" of that age. When the truth, as defended by them, once more gained supremacy, or at least broke the power of Rationalism, the same circle was again described, although now in somewhat enlarged and altered proportions. Old Lutheran pretensions and views have reappeared, although, at present, not unconnected with spiritual life, and seek to regain their lost ascendancy. The victory seems to be inclining towards that party—let us hope only temporarily; and, perhaps, from the fact, that old Lutheranism has at least a definite principle and object, and a compact phalanx of defenders.

In truth, mentally, morally, and socially, Germany is at present in a stage of transition, and its literature and tendencies simply reflect this. Hence, probably, the renewed and, perhaps, disproportionate ardour in the study of history,—hence, also, those hopes and strivings which both literature and life exhibit. Bitterly disappointed and deceived in their hopes, after the termination of what is known as "the war of liberation," the people have learned that they had spent their blood and their treasure for those who *could* have *no* sympathy with them, because they were only selfish. Your right-divine monarch, in the full sense, and with all the consequences of that notion, is one whose supreme principle is that of pure selfishness, to whom men and matters are only so many means to that one great end—the elevation of self. Such were our Charles II. and James II.,—such were the despots of Europe, who crept from their hiding-places when the Great Lion had sunk from exhaustion. The history of the reaction, which followed their restoration, is traced with painful accuracy, in G. G. Gervinus's "History of the Nineteenth Century—since the Congress of Vienna;"<sup>1</sup> of which part of the second volume has lately appeared. This section describes the reactions, which from 1815–1820, took place in Italy, Spain, and France. It is, indeed, curious to notice how little these rulers had learned by their misfortunes, and how closely and suddenly they endeavoured to reproduce the olden times, i. e., the old abuses and ignorance, carrying their imitation to the most minute and antiquated forms. The revolutions of 1848 were the legitimate consequence of these reactions; for as Bunsen rightly remarks in the preface to his new work: "Selfishness, in the form of anarchy, prepares the way

<sup>1</sup> Geschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts seit den Wiener Verträgen. Von G. G. Gervinus. Leipzig: W. Engelmann. 1856.

for absolutism; selfishness, in the form of dynastic rule, and independent of, or beyond the control of ordinary law, prepares the way for anarchy." That the Germans are not ignorant of this,—that they have come not only to disbelieve those who had formerly deceived them, but what is better, also to discard visionary schemes, and to set themselves towards the attainment of rational constitutional liberty, may be gathered from the new edition of the "Political Dictionary," by Karl Welcker, of which the first part lies before us.<sup>2</sup> The intrinsic value of this work is great. It is both able and comprehensive, being meant as an encyclopædia in which all political questions shall be discussed in the light of jurisprudence. The editor's fame, both for literary ability and political integrity, is deservedly high. While we are prepared to listen to indignant protestations, from one who has himself suffered in the cause of his country, it is pleasant to find that he disclaims Utopian schemes and republicanism, in favour of moderate constitutionalism. The best articles in the part before us are, besides the general introduction, those on *Superstition*, *Taxes*, *Indulgences*, *Absolution*, and *Absolutism*. In the article "*Abfall*," Burke, Brougham, Canning, and Guizot, are ranked together as having renounced their political principles!

The church in Germany had, unfortunately, too long and too closely identified herself with the principles of Continental Conservatism, not to excite prejudices, not merely in the minds of those who loved novelty for its own sake, but even in those who felt that conservatism was desirable only so far as it conserved what was good. But the events of 1848 revealed the fearful amount of godlessness among the masses, and their alienation from the church and her teaching. By the blessing of God, this led the church to awake from her torpor. A life of healthy activity sprung up, and soon many returned to the fold. But in those who judged of these things merely by outward appearances, it also brought about a more stringent adherence to the traditional, as such. With them, the term "churchly," has taken its place by the side, and sometimes in room of "biblical," and doctrinalism that of individual life. To explain the Word in a churchly sense, to return to the confessions of the church as a merely traditional element, to bring one's religious consciousness (to use a German mode of expression) into harmony with that of the church—are at present the current phrases with that party. All this implies little more than mere ecclesiastical conservatism and traditionalism. It does not necessarily indicate a submission to the Word of God as the great rule, nor an acknowledgment of the doctrines of the church, because based on that authority; but rather a falling back upon mere authority and traditionalism. Of course, we refer here to the tendency, and not to individuals. This extreme has evoked another,

<sup>2</sup> Das Staats; Lexicon-Encyclopædie d. sämtlichen Staatswissenschaften für alle Stände. In Verbindung mit vielen d. angesehensten Publicisten Deutschlands herausgegeben. Von K. v. Rotteck u. Karl Welcker. 3<sup>te</sup> Aufl. 1<sup>tes</sup> Heft. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1856.

in the rejection of all that is past, only because it is past—unmindful that it may contain an element which cannot be past, because it is Divine and eternal—and in the subordination of the Bible itself to the changing consciousness of the people. Manifestly, both tendencies are defective and erroneous. The one surrenders all to tradition, the other to the spirit of the times. Truth seems to lie only in the principle of the *autocracy* of the Word of God. On the great realities of the Christian faith, or rather on the teaching of the Bible concerning them, hangs no doubt or uncertainty. In essentials unity, in secondary matters mutual forbearance, in all things charity—such must be the formula of the church. Meantime, the contest between the extreme posts of the two parties—the churchly and the liberal—not only continues, but becomes more intense. As frequently happens under such circumstances, both parties go into dangerous extremes. We are, however, bound to add that the greater danger—in fact, a danger of making shipwreck of the faith itself—lies with the liberal party. The old Lutheran verges towards Romanism; the ultra-liberal, towards Pantheism. Lately, the contest has become personal between the extreme representatives of these parties, Dr. Stahl, in Berlin, and the Chevalier Bunsen. If his former work on the “Signs of the Times” gave rise to much controversy, we can readily understand that his new book, “God in History,”<sup>3</sup> of which the first volume has lately appeared, will call forth even more loud, and, in many respects, we fear, well-grounded protestations. We shall not be understood as depreciating the scientific value, or denying the unquestioned ability of the works of Chevalier Bunsen, and the great amount of truth contained in them, when we express our conviction, that his religious statements are equally untenable and unsafe. Here we cannot do better than introduce to our readers the critique of the celebrated Dr. Krummacher, on the controversy connected with the “Signs of the Times.” The three addresses which he delivered in Potsdam, have appeared in the form of a pamphlet,<sup>4</sup> and give a most lucid and satisfactory exposition of the controversy between Drs. Stahl and Bunsen. Dr. Krummacher himself professes to hold a middle course between the two antagonists, inclining, however, towards Dr. Stahl, whose statements he occasionally attempts to modify and to defend. For our part, we would choose a middle position between Krummacher and Bunsen, generally agreeing with the former, but occasionally, also with the latter. The questions at issue may be summed up under three points. The first concerns the Roman Catholic church. Here Stahl is decidedly in the wrong when he speaks of that community as “representing the unbroken historical development since apostolical times, as containing precious seed, and as having a high mission for

<sup>3</sup> Gott in der Geschichte oder d. Fortschritt des Glaubens an eine sittliche Weltordnung. Von Chr. Carl Jos. Bunsen. In 6 Büchern, 1ster Theil. Leipzig: A. F. Brockhaus. 1857.

<sup>4</sup> Bunsen und Stahl. Zur Verständigung über d. neuesten Kirchenstreit. Drei Vorträge gehalten vor d. Versammlung d. Evangel. Vereins in Potsdam von Dr. Fr. W. Krummacher. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben. 1856.



the future." Indeed, Stahl seems sometimes even to go further than the Lutherans of old. The latter condemned the Reformed Church, as a *heretical sect*; denounced marriages between members of the two confessions as *mixed*, or even *mésalliances*; excluded all non-Lutherans from the communion-table, and exalted the ministerial into something like priestly functions. In the same spirit, Stahl would tolerate only the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Roman Catholic Church, while he denounces the Independents and the Baptists; indeed, if we mistake not, all non-established churches as worse than the Roman Catholics. He, and even Krummacher, who modifies his statements, would have every church to submit its confession of faith to state-inspection before it could claim toleration. Besides, they would even then only allow freedom of conscience under condition that dissenters were not to be too aggressive on the Established Church. We also do not approve of that equivocal kind of zeal which seeks converts to a party rather than to Christ; but we must equally disavow all such narrow and unchristian jealousies as those of Stahl, and even of Krummacher. In this respect, we quite agree with Bunsen. The next question at issue is one of very great importance. It bears on supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters. Stahl would subject the church to the combined authority of the Bible, of the Augsburg Confession, and of the existing established ecclesiastical government, as vested in the various ecclesiastical functionaries, in the *Ober Rath* (Supreme Consistorial Council), and in the king as supreme bishop. Manifestly, a very unsatisfactory and defective arrangement this, from which Krummacher dissents, at least so far as to declare the question of church-organization to be very secondary, and only a matter of expediency. On the other hand, Bunsen goes to an opposite, and a more dangerous extreme. His declaration of the sole authority of the Bible is grievously qualified by the addition that its statements are to be understood *as explained by the consciousness of the people*. In short, not the Bible is truth, but what the consciousness of the people finds in it. Thus, the standard becomes subjective and shifting, instead of being objective and eternal. All this is unmistakeably asserted. "Nothing is Christian truth but what passes as such at any time in the consciousness of the Christian people, or of congregations." The only doctrine which, according to Bunsen, is settled and immoveable, is that of Justification by Faith. But even this admission is vitiated, not merely by the above principle, but by the author's definition of justification as *sittliche Selbstverantwortlichkeit* (moral self-responsibility?), and of faith as *sittliche Ueberzeugungstreue* (consistency of moral conviction?). It seems, therefore, as if the expression, "justified by faith," meant no more than that we are morally acquitted at the bar of our own consciences, and of the Great Judge, by consistently carrying out, or by being faithful to, our convictions in our inner and outer life. In agreement with these views, the *object* of faith is declared to be of no importance, while all stress is laid on the mere *fact* of faith, the *gläubige, willige Gesinnung* (believing, willing disposition). All creeds—with them, the Nicene, the Athanasian, and even

the Apostolic—are absolutely rejected; Channing is declared highly enlightened; Goethe is called a “confessor,” or even “a prophet and seer;” while the indifferentism of a Lessing, who, in his celebrated fable, likened the three religions (Christianity, Judaism, and Moham-medanism) to three rings, becomes a mirror of truth! According to Bunsen, the Bible contains not pure truth, but truth “enveloped in national Shemitic,” i. e., in Oriental or Jewish views, which must be translated into “Japhetic,” or German forms. Reason has to subject revelation to a purging process. In other words, historical revelation is subjected to what is called the continuous revelation in the mind of man. It seems to us, that such a system, while retaining the current phraseology of Christianity, rejects its essence, and substitutes for it the crudities of a Pantheistic Idealism. The third point in controversy between Bunsen and Stahl concerns the question of the union between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, as at present in many parts of Germany. Of this union, we have not the same sanguine hopes as Krummacher. It could only continue, at least for any length of time, if the spiritual and moral life always kept pace with the mental, and if that interminable and inexorable logic of theologians, and with it the *odium theologicum*, submitted more to the control of the broad statements of Scripture.

Without entering into a detailed criticism of the new work of Bunsen, “God in History,” we confess that, coming from such a man, it has painfully affected us. It were well if, instead of multiplying books, the Chevalier renounced writing for a time. The volume denounces the theology of the past, but in room thereof, only offers us a Pantheistic Mysticism, which retains the phraseology of Christianity, but uniformly substitutes ideas and mere abstractions for spiritual facts. The historical mould of the Bible, in which we had hitherto sought for the great facts commonly believed by all churches, is now to contain no more than vague spiritualistic ideas of consciousness of God, of Divine government, of the victory of good over evil, and of reconciliation with God through self-renunciation. Perhaps the climax of this twaddle is the view that the 53rd chapter of Isaiah refers primarily—indeed, exclusively—to the sufferings of Jeremiah; for “the true victory over the world consists in the surrender of the teacher, who consciously gives himself a sacrifice for the deliverance of his people and of mankind from sin!” With such shadowy, ungrounded, and false notions, it were impossible to gather any definite teaching from the Bible. The critical method of our author also, is sometimes most extravagant, as when, for example, he ascribes the latter part of Isaiah to Baruch. In general, it may be compared to the allegorical method of the ancients, as the text of Scripture becomes a mere allegory of certain truths, while the author’s peculiar spiritualistic notions are with considerable ingenuity put in the room of the spiritual facts which form the hope of the Christian and the foundation of the church. The Chevalier’s volume consists of two books, of which the first gives a general introduction, and lays down certain fundamental principles, while the second dilates on the “Hebrew Consciousness of God.” We cannot adopt the views of

either one or the other of these books. We neither regard the German school, as latterly represented by Lessing, Kant, Schelling, and Hegel, in the light in which Bunsen does, nor do we share theological views which sometimes appear to differ but little from avowed Pantheism. Few Christians in this country will account for prophetic inspiration by an "introspection," or a sort of clairvoyance. We allow, indeed, that passages in this volume are equally striking and deep; as, for example, the closing section of Book I., "The Bible, Life, and History—an address to the inquiring reader;" and that some interpretations are ingenious and apt, as allegories often are; but as advocates of Christian truth we must protest against a system which does not acknowledge a historical Christ in the sense of a Mediator between God and man, and a Saviour of sinners, for its foundation.

We have above referred to the criticisms of Krummacher. But Bunsen is not always met merely by arguments. One of the leading pamphleteers of the Roman Catholic party,<sup>5</sup> who combines a defence of the Austrian Concordat with an attack on Bunsen, among other arguments actually proposes to combat him *vi et armis*, or, dropping the figure, expresses a desire to deal with Bunsen as Senator Brooks did with Sumner. Such seems to be the *dernier ressort* of a writer of whom it would be difficult to say whether priestly arrogance and presumption or ignorance are the most prominent characteristics.

Despite such controversies, Christian life in Germany is manifestly deepening. Earnest voices are heard on all sides, and earnest men to whom the life of godliness is a reality, rise among all parties. Some of them lay emphasis only on the great realities of our faith; others, while strongly insisting on them, think that a return to "churchliness" is requisite for the completion of the work. Among the productions of the latter we reckon the tractate of Professor Vilmar,<sup>6</sup> of which a second edition has appeared. Though a High Lutheran in all distinctive features, an enemy to the Union, and a somewhat violent opponent of Bunsen, he is well entitled to serious attention. Recalling the olden times, happily past, when a professor could preface his lectures on dogmatics by telling the students that all this was *in futuram oblivionem*, Dr. Vilmar thinks that the reform, although great, has not yet been sufficiently thorough. He complains that the idea of pastoral theology is too often lost in dialectic wrangling; that, instead of exegetics in the proper sense, the students hear only lectures on the introductory branches, or else philological disquisitions, somewhat akin to those of old in the eclectic schools of Alexandria. In the eagerness of every one to teach something new, the great realities of our faith are too frequently pushed into the background. Accordingly, he proposes to return, in the universities, to pure Bible-teaching, and to cultivate practical religion among the students. A still more gratifying manifestation of religious earnestness and spiritual life in Germany

<sup>5</sup> Das Oesterreichische Concordat u. der Ritter Bunsen. Von einem Diplomaten ausser Dienst. Regensburg: G. S. Manz. 1856.

<sup>6</sup> Die Theologie der Thatfachen wider d. Theologie der Rhetorik. Von A. F. C. Vilmar, Dr. u. Prof. d. Theol. zu Marburg. 2<sup>te</sup> Aufl. Marburg. 1856.



is exhibited in the report of the *Kirchentag*, which met last September in Lübeck,<sup>7</sup> under the presidency of Drs. Bethmann-Hollweg, Stahl, and Lindenberg. After an excellent sermon by Dr. Lindenberg, Dr. Hollweg opened the meeting with a report of what had been done during the year. The first two meetings were held under the auspices of the general committee; the last two under that of the committee for the "Inner Mission." The principal subjects discussed in the first two meetings were the exercise of discipline, the Christian ministry, and the best means of counteracting the inroads of Materialism. On the first subject, there appeared to be little *practical* agreement; the other two were treated in an exceedingly able and useful manner. The sittings held under the auspices of the "Inner Mission" were of a peculiarly interesting character. Probably, many of our readers are aware that the labours of that mission commenced in 1848, under the auspices of Dr. Wichern of Hamburg, and that it has the revival of Christianity among the Germans for its object. It is, indeed, a home mission, conceived on the broadest plan, and embraces in its operations—*care for the poor, measures for the suppression of gambling houses, care for German emigrants, sabbath observance, the reform of criminals*, both during and after the course of their term of punishment, *temperance* (not abstinence), *Christian young men's societies*, both among operatives and in universities, and *orphanages*. On all these subjects, either general or special conferences were held. The work of Jewish missions also engaged the *Kirchentag*. The addresses were, in general, most valuable. Among them we specially mention one by Dr. Wichern, *on the position and the work of women in the church*. Gladly would we see it translated and circulated by tens of thousands. We do not remember having perused anything more apt or suggestive on this important subject. When the reformation of criminals and schools engages so much public attention, we may perhaps be allowed to point to the success attending the labours of German Christians in these departments.

While on the subject of Christian life in Germany we shall, from among the mass of such publications, direct attention to two collections of sermons, and to a popular religious work. The sermons of Dr. Hoffmann,<sup>8</sup> the court-preacher of the king of Prussia, must attract notice as being the productions of a minister justly esteemed for piety and learning. The volume before us forms part of a serial publication, and embraces fourteen sermons on Old Testament history. Although perhaps not very pointed, and without much freshness of thought, these sermons are decidedly evangelical in their tone and well written. Perhaps they labour a little under a defect peculiar to many German works, especially sermons,—that of needless

<sup>7</sup> Die Verhandlungen des achten Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchentages zu Lübeck im September, 1856. Herausgegeben von Dr. Biernatzki. Berlin: W. Hertz. 1856.

<sup>8</sup> Stimmen d. Hüter im Alten Bunde. Predigten u. Betracht. über d. Weissagung. u. d. Vorbilder d. A. Testaments, von W. Hoffmann, Dr. d. Theol., Königl. Hof u. Dom-Prediger. Berlin: Wiegand. 1856.

verbosity and circumlocution, or, as the Germans expressively call it, *Wortschwall*. To this stylistic defect the unpopularity of so many translations may, probably, be traced. We have, indeed, almost come to the conclusion that, partly owing to this cause, and partly to the peculiarity of German modes of expression, all translations should partake of the character of *Bearbeitungen* (recasting), i.e., retain the substance, but recast the form.

A much more pretentious but much less valuable book of sermons<sup>9</sup> comes from the other side of the Alps, where, for any good it is likely to do, it might safely have remained. Affecting a more than commonly elevated religious stand-point, the author addresses admonitions which it is difficult to understand. His higher spirituality seems to consist in scorning such doctrines as that of the sacrifice of Christ, and generally discarding the letter of Scripture. To have read one of these sermons is to possess the substance of all. The author rebukes the low views of Evangelicals, but seems himself ignorant of the things on which he descants. The "Evangelical Almanac" for 1857<sup>10</sup> deserves notice, if it were only to call attention to this publication, and, if possible, to get something of the same kind introduced among ourselves. It is the eighth of the series; and besides the usual information, contains most interesting sketches and essays by such writers as Hoffmann, Krummacher, Lange, Schmidt, and Hagenbach. The historical sketches are fifteen in number, of which three are from the Old, two from the New Testament, two from apostolic times, three from the ancient church, three from the Middle Ages, one from the Reformation, and two from later times. Of the four essays on "The Birthday of the World," on "Cold Weather in the Month of May," on "The Birth, Death, and Resurrection of the Lord according to the Oldest Monuments," and on "The Christian-Art Museum in the University of Berlin," the last is by far the most interesting. Berlin has lately been enriched with a museum designed to exhibit the works of ecclesiastical art from the earliest times to the sixteenth century. The internal arrangement of this museum is described in the essay to which we refer. It exhibits plans and views of ancient churches, such as of St. Sophia in Constantinople, of St. Mark in Venice, &c.; casts of ancient baptistries and sacramental tables, together with monuments of heathen antiquity, copies of inscriptions, and representations and casts of gravestones or of sarcophagi,—all arranged in historical order. The utility of such a museum, and the interest attaching to it, are manifest. The "Evangelical Almanac" is also enriched with four beautiful plates of objects of ancient Christian art.

Passing from popular to scientific theology we are at no loss for topics of interest. As we have already hinted, the contributions to *ecclesiastical history* are most abundant. On general history, we have, besides a cheaper reprint of Neander's "History," with a

<sup>9</sup> Vom Fleische zum Geiste. Sendpredigten für die Evangelischen. Geschrieben von jenseits der Alpen. Zürich: Orell u. Füssli. 1856.

<sup>10</sup> Evangelischer Kalender; Jahrbuch für 1857; mit Beiträgen von vielen Gelehrten. Herausgegeben von F. Piper, Dr. u. Prof. der Theol. 8<sup>ter</sup> Jahrgang. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben.

preface by Ullmann, a second edition of Dr. Schmid's excellent "Manual of Church History."<sup>11</sup> Within somewhere about 460 pages, the Erlangen Professor compresses all the facts of ecclesiastical history from apostolic to our own times, and enriches the volume with about fifty pages on the literature of the subject. The book is well printed, remarkably cheap, and seems well adapted to become a *Leitfaden* (guiding thread, manual) for students and professors. We confess, however, that although alive to the importance of conciseness in a hand-book, we could have wished that it had been a little more detailed and circumstantial. An addition of probably about a hundred pages would have made it an invaluable text-book for students of theology. At any rate, it is much more suitable for that purpose than either Mosheim or Milner. We would, therefore, recommend it for translation. Descending the stream of time, we have a number of works connected with the Reformation. A peculiar interest attaches to the lampoons published at the time of that great event, and which have recently been collected and edited by Mr. Schade.<sup>12</sup> They afford an excellent insight into the state of popular feeling, and exhibit the condition of church and state. In fact, they are just so many rough sketches from life,—true to nature, although sometimes sharply, if not coarsely drawn. They must, of course, not be judged according to our modern ideas, but be viewed as honest old German outbursts of just indignation against intolerable abuses in church and state. Sometimes, however—as too many productions of that period—they border on the blasphemous. They are often couched in the form of travesties of portions of Scripture, of prayers, &c.; more frequently still in that of conversations between burghers, or burghers and priests, pope and cardinals; sometimes in that of letters to and from a place which shall be nameless. As might be expected, the Emperor Charles and all Luther's opponents fare ill in these pasquilles, while the great reformer and very often Carlstadt are brought forward as the popular heroes. We know what powerful influences such lampoons have at all times—but especially at that period—exercised on the masses; and after perusing these clever, witty, and truthful utterances of popular grievances, we cannot wonder at such a result. A study of this branch of literature may be considered necessary for the historian of these times. Another most important work for the study of that period has just been completed. It is now twenty-seven years since the late Dr. De Wette began his reprint of the letters, &c., of Luther. The sixth and last volume of this great undertaking has lately appeared, under the editorial care of Mr. Seidemann.<sup>13</sup> However earnest and diligent the

<sup>11</sup> Lehrbuch der Kirchen Geschichte von Dr. H. Schmid, Prof. zu Erlangen. 2<sup>te</sup> Auflage. Nördlingen. 1856.

<sup>12</sup> Satiren und Pasquille aus d. Reformationzeit. Herausgegeben von Oscar Schade. Hannover: C. Rümpler. 1856.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben u. Bedenken, vollständig von Dr. W. M. L. de Wette, Prof. d. Theol. zu Basel. 6<sup>ter</sup> Theil; die in d. s. Theilen fehlenden Briefe u. Bedenken Luther's, nebst 2 Registern von Lic. Theol., J. R. Seidemann. Berlin: Reimer. 1856.



editors have been, the work can scarcely be said to be quite complete. Both in point of arrangement and of historical distinctness, it might be considerably improved, if, as we scarcely dare to hope, a second edition were to be called for; however, even in its present shape, it contains most important materials for a history of the great reformer, which shall be more copious and thorough than any hitherto written. There is also much that is curious, as well as interesting and important, in this collection, while its price is so very moderate as to place these important documents within reach of students generally. Mr. Seidenmann deserves praise for his endeavour to remedy, in this supplementary volume, the defects of the former five. Two other works on subjects connected with the Reformation require only a passing notice. Dr. Schenkel's "Reformers and the Reformation"<sup>14</sup> is a work giving, besides a brief introduction on the need of the Reformation, excellent biographies of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Melancthon. The whole is followed by practical suggestions on the present state and mission of the Protestant church. The book is written in an excellent spirit, and combines the two requisites of thoroughness and popularity. On the other hand, Merlecker's "History and Policy of the Popes"<sup>15</sup> is a bare, dry outline of most prominent facts compressed into a small volume, — rather a chronology than anything else. However, it has the merit of indicating the sources whence further details may in each case be gathered. Professor Hagenbach's excellent lectures on the "Character and History of the Reformation,"<sup>16</sup> have appeared in a new edition. The sterling merit of these volumes is well known to students. The great biographical "Church History" of Böhringer has advanced another stage with a monograph on Wickliffe,<sup>17</sup> which forms Section 1, in the fourth division of Vol. II., — the latter intended to embrace, in four divisions, the history of the Middle Ages. Most cheerfully do we acknowledge the merits of this publication. Its defects are, that the style is occasionally a little too diffuse, and that continual references in the shape of foot-notes are wanting. The present volume is a complete history of Wickliffe, whom the author regards as *the* great precursor of the Reformers, and as, historically speaking, a much more important personage than even Huss, on whose memory Neander has so affectionately dwelt. Mr. Böhringer acknowledges his obligations to the English monographs of Lewis and Vaughan. While giving the latter author full credit for his investigations, Mr. Böhringer objects that he has not sufficiently discussed the theological writings of Wickliffe, and that his book

<sup>14</sup> Die Reformatoren u. die Reformation im Zusammenhange mit den der Evangelischen Kirche durch d. Reformation gestellten Aufgaben, geschichtlich beleuchtet von Dr. D. Schenkel. Weisbaden: Kreidel u. Niedner. 1856.

<sup>15</sup> Geschichte der Politik der Päbste von Dr. R. F. Merlecker, Prof. zu Königsberg. Hamburg: Hoffman u. Campe. 1846.

<sup>16</sup> Die Kirchen Geschichte des 18<sup>ten</sup> und 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts. (Forming also Vols. V. and VI. of the "Vorlesungen über Wesen und Geschichte d. Reformation.") Von Dr. K. R. Hagenbach.

<sup>17</sup> Die Vorreformatoren des 14<sup>ten</sup> und 15<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts. 1<sup>te</sup> Hälfte: Johannes von Wykliffe. Von Fr. Böhringer. Zurich: Meyer und Zeller. 1856.

is written too much in the popular and "anti-papistic" strain. The volume under review fully sustains the reputation of the author, and deserves the attention of British scholars. Among other historical monographs, the most interesting is that of Carlstadt, by E. F. Jäger, of Tübingen.<sup>18</sup> Students of history will be deeply grateful for this contribution, which, to our minds at least, places Carlstadt in a new light, and rescues his memory from much undeserved obloquy. No doubt, he was rash and vain, and his often ill-judged attempts might have involved the Protestant party in many difficulties. But, though occasionally misled into extreme notions, he was neither the fanatic nor the political plotter whom some have discovered, or rather invented. Indeed, on some points, such as on the canon of Scripture, on Sabbath observance, &c., his views seem to have been more clear and correct than those of Luther himself. It is well known, that although the latter wholly disavowed Carlstadt's innovations at Wittenberg, the form of public worship in the Lutheran church ultimately remained as Carlstadt had introduced it. This history has now for the first time been adequately written by Mr. Jäger, chiefly from original sources. His character, his merits and demerits, can only properly understood when viewed in connexion with the peculiar tendencies and difficulties of his time and circumstances. Besides the monograph on Carlstadt, we have two other small but interesting volumes of the same kind, the one on Francis of Assisi, the founder of the Franciscans,<sup>19</sup> and the other on Sailer, the good Bishop of Regensburg.<sup>20</sup> The former is by Professor Hase, of Jena, and ably written. The spiritual history of Francis has much in common with that of Loyola. We find in our saint the same earnestness and ardour, and the same religious ambition, as in the founder of the order of Jesuits. Like the latter, the Franciscans were bound to yield implicit obedience, even "as a dead body." The influence of the preaching of Francis was very extensive and beneficial. Luther speaks of him as a good man,—an opinion in which, despite his fanaticism and aberrations, all unprejudiced readers of this monograph must concur. Francis was the first to carry the missions of mendicant friars to the heathen, by making an attempt to convert the Sultan by a personal interview. A very different picture from that of the fiery, fanatical Francis, is that of the good Bishop of Regensburg. Sailer was one of the evangelical party which appeared in the Roman Catholic church of Germany at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, and with whose most distinguished representative, Martin Boos, most of our readers are no doubt acquainted. Born of very poor but pious parents, young Sailer had to make his way through many difficulties before he became a novice in the Jesuit College, in 1770. When, in 1773,

<sup>18</sup> Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformationszeit. Aus Originalquellen gegeben von E. F. Jäger, Repetenten am Evang. Theol. Seminar zu Tübingen. Stuttgart: Rudolf Besser. 1856.

<sup>19</sup> Franz von Assisi: Ein Heiligenbild. Von Dr. K. Hase, Prof. zu Jena. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel. 1856.

<sup>20</sup> Johann Michael von Sailer, weiland Bischof zu Regensburg. Dargestellt von Fr. W. Bodemann, Pastor. Gotha: F. A. Perthes. 1856.

that order dispersed, the young student went to Ingolstadt, where he soon became a professor, and even at that early period, exercised a very great and beneficial influence over the students. These labours were interrupted, for three years ; after which, we find him as professor at Dillingen. The general esteem in which he was held sufficiently appears from the respect with which such Protestants as Perthes and Lavater speak of him. This was a period in the Roman church when she seemed about to acquire an influence for good which she had lost for centuries. But the ultramontane party could not tolerate anything resembling Evangelical Christianity. Accordingly, Sailer was summarily dismissed from his office. It was after that, and through intercourse with Boos and some of his converts, that the pride and Phariseism of his natural heart gave place to the humility of faith and Gospel joy. Although Sailer escaped the persecutions which befel many of his friends, by offering, like Fénelon, to submit his teaching implicitly to the see of Rome, the Papal authorities interdicted him from the occupancy of the see of Augsburg. Ultimately, however, he became Bishop of Regensburg, where he died at a very advanced age. Among books connected more or less directly with ecclesiastical history, we should perhaps also include Professor Movers's great work on "Phœnician Antiquities,"<sup>21</sup> of which the first section of a new volume has just appeared. It treats of the commerce and shipping of the Phœnicians, in all its branches and aspects, —with Palestine, Assyria, Arabia, and Egypt. The work is a perfect store-house of learning, and gives information as new as it is interesting and important. It is scarcely necessary to say that it throws considerable light on Biblical subjects. To our mind, it affords striking confirmation of the antiquity of the Old Testament writings.

In *exegetics*, the past year has not afforded so many contributions as might have been expected. In fact, German theologians seem at present to devote their attention to ecclesiastical history rather than to exegetics. The question of the canon may, in many respects, be held as closed on the Continent. Unfortunately, the impulse of a former movement is only making itself properly felt among us when it has almost passed away in Germany. There, controversy is at present more connected with ecclesiastical questions ; hence, perhaps, the number of works on church history. In all probability, these controversies may shortly be followed up by others on dogmatics. However, we have this year also some exegetical works claiming attention. Neumann's "Commentary on Jeremiah," of which a first volume has appeared,<sup>22</sup> is a fair specimen of the excellences and the defects of such productions in Germany. Its exegesis and criticism are thorough and exhaustive, while the treatment is orthodox in tone and spirit. But, on the other hand, the

<sup>21</sup> Das Phönizische Alterthum. In drei Theilen. Von Dr. F. C. Movers, Prof. zu Breslau. 3<sup>te</sup> Theil, 1<sup>te</sup> Abth. Handel und Schiffahrt. Berlin : Dümmler. 1856.

<sup>22</sup> Jeremias von Anathoth. Die Weissagungen und Klagelieder des Propheten, nach d. masoretischen Texte, ausgelegt von Wilh. Neumann. 1<sup>ter</sup> Band. Weissagungen, Kap. I.—XVII. Leipzig : Dörffling und Francke. 1856.



author appears to sympathize too much with the High Lutheran party, and, as is too common in Germany, writes too manifestly from his peculiar *Stand-punkt* (stand-point). This colouring, according to a man's *Stand-punkt*, is, indeed, one of the great blemishes in many German works; so that, in perusing a book, we almost require first to ascertain the *Stand-punkt* of the writer, and then to make certain allowances for it. Another defect in such writings is their verbosity, and the needless amassing of authorities. Of what use or interest to the reader can it possibly be to refute an author who is not allowed to speak for himself fully and fairly, or to encumber pages with the mention of mere names? But, with all these defects, the present is an excellent commentary, in the preparation of which the author has read much and to the purpose, including—also British Literature, as his references to Layard and Dr. Chalmers prove. The "Daily Readings" of the latter are (at p. 284) mentioned as *the* model of a practical commentary on the Bible. Dr. Von Essen, a Roman Catholic divine, has furnished a short tractate on "Ecclesiastes"<sup>23</sup> encumbered with the polemics of Romanism, but not without its points of interest. The book professes to grapple with some difficulties connected with Ecclesiastes. We wish the author had confined himself to this task, and let controversy alone. However, the weaker a cause, the more eager are people generally to raise a controversy about it. The author, of course, submits all he says to the judgment of the church. In Dr. Essen's opinion, all unbelief and doubt may be traced to the Protestant principle of rejecting tradition, and of clinging to the Bible only,—a view for which he only favours us with assertion, not with proof. Aside from absurdities, such as that Ecclesiastes speaks of purgatory, &c., there are some valuable remarks in this tractate. The well-known New Testament Commentary of the late Dr. Olshausen has advanced another step towards completion, by a volume on the First Epistle of Peter, from the pen of Mr. Wiesinger.<sup>24</sup> It is very satisfactory to find that a work, so justly prized in this country as well as on the Continent, enjoys the advantage of such excellent editorship as that of Dr. Ebrard and Mr. Wiesinger. Although the loss of Dr. Olshausen cannot be compensated to the readers of his Commentary, the editors have done all they could. They have made excellent use of the notes left by Dr. Olshausen, and continued the work in the same spirit, and with the same learning and moderation. The volume before us quite sustains the character of its predecessors. Of Dr. Düsterdieck's Commentary on the Epistles of John,<sup>25</sup> we have now the closing parts. Although a little lengthy, the work is

<sup>23</sup> Der Prediger Salomo's: Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung d. Alten Testaments, von L. v. Essen, Dr. der Theol., und Rector de Progymnasium's zu Jülich. Schaffhausen: Fr. Hurtersene. 1856.

<sup>24</sup> Biblischer Commentar über sämtliche Schriften d. Neuen Testaments. Von Dr. H. Olshausen. Fortgesetzt, von Dr. J. H. A. Ebrard, und Lic. A. Wiesinger. 6<sup>ter</sup> Band. Königsberg: W. Unzer. 1856.

<sup>25</sup> Die drey Johanneischen Briefe. Mit einem vollständigen theologischen Commentare von Dr. F. Düsterdieck, Pastor zu Schwiecheldt. 2<sup>tes</sup> Bandes, 2<sup>e</sup> Liefer. Göttingen. 1856.

excellent, both in its design, tone, and execution. The section before us commences with the important passage, 1 John v. 6, and fully discusses this and other difficult or controverted points in the Epistles of John. Lastly, we have another volume of the "Exegetical Manual,"<sup>20</sup> on the Apocrypha, edited by Drs. Fritzsche and Grimm. The series on the Apocrypha exhibits the same characteristics as those on the Old and New Testaments (which it is intended to complete), with which most exegetical students in this country are familiar. There is the same philological lore, with the same rashness of critical and historical analysis, and the same odious arrogance and levity of tone. In short, like the other two, this series also is a genuine production of the ablest representatives of the Rationalistic school in Germany. The only real value attaching to these volumes is their philological acumen, although even in that respect, we would advise readers to take certain statements *cum grano salis*. To return to the volume under review, we are informed by the author, Dr. Grimm, that the motive of the writer of Maccabees was the theocratic elevation of the Jews (a term very common with that school), and a desire to induce the Egyptian Jews to share in celebrating the feast of the dedication of the temple. Those portions of the epistle are declared to be of historical value which supplement and confirm the accounts in 1 Maccabees, such as ch. iv.—vi. 10, which supplement the account in 1 Macc. i. 10—64. Sometimes, as in vi. 2; xiii. 3—8; xiv. 1, and ch. iv., the account in 2 Maccabees is to be preferred to that in 1 Macc. The book, in its present shape, is said to be an epitome of the original work by Jason, with many insertions and alterations by the compiler, not in the best taste. According to the common practice of that school, the author of 2 Maccabees is declared to be a *beschränkter Kopf* (narrow-minded and stupid), who has left out large portions of the original work, and otherwise been sufficiently *gauche*. The work is supposed to have appeared before the destruction of Jerusalem,—a conveniently indefinite statement. But even this is not so bad as the supposition that 3 Maccabees was written at the time of Caligula, as Ewald suggests, who, by-the-by, is never at a loss. The reader will be amused to learn that the story in 3 Maccabees about the infuriated elephants set loose on the Jews, must be fabulous, *because* Daniel, who wrote fifty years after Ptolemy Physcon, does not mention it! Surely this is reasoning with a vengeance! To us, this account seems to be a legend based on the event, recorded by Josephus, (Jos. c. Ap. ii. 5). The fourth book of Maccabees is described as a mixture of Judaism with Stoicism, for the purpose of defending the former. Whenever opportunity offers, Dr. Grimm attempts to throw contempt on the inspiration and the religious teaching of the Old Testament. Among important works connected with the sacred text, we must not omit the new edition of

<sup>20</sup> Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testaments. Bearbeitet von Dr. O. F. Fritzsche (Prof. in Zürich), u. Dr. C. L. W. Grimm (Prof. in Jena). Vierte Liefer. Das 2<sup>te</sup>, 3<sup>te</sup>, u. 4<sup>te</sup> Buch d. Maccabäer. Erklärt von Dr. C. L. W. Grimm. Leipzig: Hirzel. 1856.

"Ulfilas,"<sup>27</sup> by Mr. Massmann. This work, which, for the first time, gives to the public a complete copy of all that is extant of the version of Ulfilas in the fourth century, should be in the hands of every student of the New Testament text. Among its other attractions, we may mention a copious and learned introduction, an historical sketch of the Goths, and a Gothic grammar and dictionary.

Among works on doctrinal theology, the first place is due to the sainted Neander's "History of Dogmas,"<sup>28</sup> of which a first volume has just appeared, under the editorship of Professor Jacobi, of Halle, who prefaces it with a loving introduction. Of the value of any work coming from such an author it would be presumptuous in us to speak. The volume is compiled from Neander's jottings, and from the note-books of some of his students; the whole being occasionally supplemented by Dr. Jacobi himself. Part of these lectures we had the privilege of hearing ourselves. We have always thought that Neander excelled even more in giving a broad picture of a whole period than in detailing single events. We cannot doubt that if he had lived to finish and revise this volume, it would have been among the most useful and interesting of his writings. But even in its present shape, this "History of Dogmas" will be hailed both by those who fondly cherish the memory of the father of modern church-history and who recall his teaching, and by every student of ecclesiastical history. Not only is the learning and the spirit of the volume that of Neander, but we have often almost felt as if we heard him delivering those general sketches with which the work is enriched. These are peculiarly Neandrian. The present volume extends over the two first periods of ecclesiastical history (to Constantine the Great, and again to Gregory the Great), and furnishes, besides a general introduction and the separate history of each dogma during these periods, sketches such as those to which we have already alluded. The editor has performed his part well. We fondly hope that some of our enterprising publishers will soon give this book to British readers.\* Mr. Messner's "Teaching of the Apostles,"<sup>29</sup> is the result of his studies and lectures while *privatim docens* at Göttingen. Although differing from the author in many and important points, we confess to a sincere admiration of his thorough interesting exposition of the doctrinal views, propounded in the Epistles of the New Testament. The stand-point of Mr. Messner seems to be

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<sup>27</sup> Ulfilas. Die heil. Schriften alten u. neuen Bundes in Gothischer Sprache mit gegen über stehendem Griechischem u. Lateinischem Texte, Anmerkungen, Wörterbuche, Sprachlehre u. geschichtlicher Einleitung. Von H. F. Massmann. Stuttgart: Liesching. 1857.

<sup>28</sup> Dr. A. Neander's Christliche Dogmen-Geschichte. Herausgegeben von Dr. J. L. Jacobi, Prof. d. Theol. zu Halle. 1<sup>ster</sup> Theil. Berlin: Wiegandt u. Grieben. 1857.

<sup>29</sup> Die Lehre der Apostel. Dargestellt von Hermann Messner, Licent. der Theol. Leipzig. 1856.

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\* Arrangements are making for publishing a translation of Dr. Neander's work by the Editor of this Journal, of which Dr. Jacobi, in a letter lately received, has expressed his hearty approval. The second volume, Dr. Jacobi states, will be published in about two months.—Ed. E. R.



liberal-orthodox; and he is deeply indebted to Neander and Schmid, to whom he constantly refers his readers. The relation of apostolic teaching to that of the Lord, he compares to that of parts to the whole; and considers that in their mutual relation, these different parts were one in substance and principle, but variously developed according to the mental and spiritual idiosyncracies of the apostles. Accordingly our author recognises a peculiar *Lehrtropus* (cast of teaching), although not a peculiar *Lehrtypus* (type of teaching) in the various apostolic writers. On many grounds, this view seems to us defective. Without entering on theological argument, we may be allowed to call notice to the fact, that it does not recognise what we deem the prime element of these differences—the peculiar wants of the churches to whom the apostolic letters were in the first place addressed. Nor does this theory sufficiently meet the difficulty that each letter must, to a certain extent, have been perfect in itself, as besides a copy or copies of the gospels and certain apostolic traditions, such epistle must, in many cases, have been the sole directory for churches. Lastly, if there are different *Lehrtropen* in the New Testament, why have we not Pauline, Petrine, Jacobine, and Johnite sects, according as churches take either one or the other of these *tropes* as the standard for their development? It seems to us, that any such alleged apostolic differences should be traced back to their ultimate principles, when doubtless real, although not formal unity would be discovered in them. But what interested us most in this volume was the ingenuity and the assiduity of Mr. Messner's analysis of the various epistles. Want of space alone prevents us from giving our readers illustrations of these qualities. We cordially recommend the book as a most seasonable and useful addition to German theological literature.

We wish we could have given our readers an idea of the leading publications in secular history and general literature which have appeared in Germany during the past year. But we have already exceeded the limits assigned to us, and, indeed, been obliged to postpone special notice of some theological publications for our next report. Probably the leading work on philosophy during the year is that of the celebrated Dr. Ritter.<sup>30</sup> While complaining of the present neglect of philosophy, it very much retraces the steps of modern speculation, and adopts and elaborates views current before the appearance of Kant. In general history, we have the fourth and closing volume of another great work of Ranke, on French history during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>31</sup> We would fain hope that both this and other works of the great German historian may soon be translated and published in a complete and accessible form. Of the great historical work of Schlosser<sup>32</sup> (in eighteen volumes), of a

<sup>30</sup> System der Logick und d. Metaphysick. Von Dr. H. Ritter. 2 Bände. Göttingen: Dietrich. 1856.

<sup>31</sup> Französische Geschichte, vornehmlich im 16<sup>ten</sup> u. 17<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts. Von Leopold Ranke. 4 Bände. Stuttgart u. Augsburg: Cotta. 1856.

<sup>32</sup> F. C. Schlosser's Weltgeschichte für das Deutsche Volk, unter Mitwirkung des Verfassers bearbeitet von G. L. Krieger. 18 Bände. Frankfurt-o.-M. 1856.

monograph on the Emperor Henry IV.,<sup>33</sup> and of the (Roman Catholic) continuation of Beraut-Berastel's Ecclesiastical History,<sup>34</sup> we hope to speak at greater length in our next Report. In literary history, we have a second and closing volume of Cholevius's History of German Poetry,<sup>35</sup> viewed in the light of the antique elements, and a very good history of French National Literature, by Edward Arnd.<sup>36</sup> To these books, also, we may again recur. But especially do we reserve to ourselves and our readers two most interesting autobiographies—reminding us of the "Life of Perthes," which we introduced to the readers of the *ECLECTIC* some time ago—of the venerable Schubert<sup>37</sup> and of Dr. Eilers,<sup>38</sup> as well as an extended notice of the great Protestant Encyclopædia of Herzog,<sup>39</sup> and its condensed American translation, appearing under the auspices of Dr. Bomberger.<sup>40</sup> Not to be ungrateful, in case fair eyes should have glanced over these pages, which we fear must have sometimes appeared to them uninteresting, we must notice Dr. Klemm's work on the position and influence of women in different countries and at different periods,<sup>41</sup> a book full of rich and varied interest. Of this work, two volumes have appeared. When complete, it will be quite a treasury of information on the subject—the more welcome that it is presented in so attractive a style.

Our readers will understand that within the limits assigned to us, we could briefly refer only to some of the most prominent publications,—chiefly those which possess a religious interest. We indulge, however, the hope, that by-and-bye, when we shall have brought up our arrears, and, consequently, shall only have to make our *Quarterly* Report of new publications, we may be able to present more than a mere sketch of the new literature of Germany. Meantime, we trust that even this brief survey of the principal publications of last year may not be without its interest and utility. Much has, indeed, of late years been done to give the British public a more correct

<sup>33</sup> Kaiser Heinrich IV. Von H. Flotto. 2 Bände. Stuttgart u. Hamburg: Besser. 1856.

<sup>34</sup> Die Geschichte d. Kirche Christi im 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderte. Fortsetzung d. Kirchen-Geschichte des Beraut-Berastel. Von Prof. Dr. B. Gams. 3 Bände. Innsbruck: Wagner. 1856.

<sup>35</sup> Geschichte der Deutschen Poesie nach ihren antiken Elementen. Von C. L. Cholevius. 2 Bände. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1856.

<sup>36</sup> Geschichte d. Französischen Nationalliteratur von der Renaissance, bis zu der Revolution. Von Eduard Arnd. Berlin: Dunker u. Humblot. 1856.

<sup>37</sup> Der Erwerb aus einem vergangenen u. die Erwartungen von einem zukünftigen Leben. Eine Selbstbiographie von Dr. G. H. v. Schubert. 3 Bände. Erlangen. 1856.

<sup>38</sup> Meine Wanderung durch's Leben: Ein Beitrag zur innern Geschichte d. 1<sup>ten</sup> Hälfte d. 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrhunderts. Von Dr. G. Eilers. 1<sup>ter</sup> Theil. Leipzig: Brockhaus. 1856.

<sup>39</sup> Real-Encyclopædie für Protestantische Theologie u. Kirche. Von Dr. Herzog. (Hitherto 6 volumes of it have appeared.) Stuttgart u. Hamburg: Besser.

<sup>40</sup> Published also in Edinburgh, by T. and T. Clark. Three parts of it have appeared.

<sup>41</sup> Die Frauen; Culturgeschichtliche Schilderungen des Zustandes u. Einflusses d. Frauen in d. verschiedenen Zonen u. Zeitaltern. Von Dr. G. Klemm. 2 Bände. Dresden: Arnold. 1856.

idea of intellectual and religious life in Germany. To two enterprising publishers especially, are British students deeply indebted; the one (Mr. Clark, of Edinburgh), in his "Foreign Theological Library" and otherwise, supplying us with translations of some of the best theological and philosophical works which have appeared on the Continent; the other (Mr. Bohn, of London) giving, in an English garb, some of the best historical and *belles-lettres* works of Germany. Still, much remains to be done. On the one hand, self-sufficient ignorance has laid its ban upon everything German, and is ready to brand as heresy what it has neither the heart nor the head to understand. On the other hand, a superficial and second-hand learning is waiting to adopt any crudity which may be vented on the other side of the Channel, with sufficient arrogance of tone and pretence of lore. Such persons palm on the public, with an air of superiority, the long-discarded opinions of a school, which happily has, at present, but few representatives in Germany. Here, also, the middle way—that of "proving all things, and holding fast that which is good"—seems that of safety. Among ourselves, perhaps, too exclusive attention is given to the merely outward and practical,—in Germany, to the studious and contemplative. To combine these two elements,—to transport the learning and profundity of Germany, the affectionate warmheartedness and earnestness of its faith to Britain,—to join with it our own honesty and practical tendency, our indomitable energy and our zeal, seems to us the great desideratum. Such an object, all good, intelligent, and unprejudiced persons will seek to obtain; they will encourage all that tends towards it, while they will equally discountenance both an unthinking Germanophobia and Germanomania.

Within this century, Germany has, indeed, made rapid strides in the right direction. Successively have the battles against Rationalism, Materialism, and Pantheism been fought, and by the help of the Head of the church, been gained. A vigorous and healthy religious life has sprung up, both among clergy and laity. The literature of Rationalism was shallow, a dreary waste; that of Materialism, in reality, a negation of anything intellectual and moral; that of Pantheism, dreamy, indistinct, and based on a one-sided analysis. As long as these nightmares brooded over Germany, its social life rapidly sunk, and the former characteristics and virtues of individual and national character threatened to disappear. All this is happily changed. With a sound and healthy literature, and a genuine Christian life, Germany is returning to her former commanding position in the religious history of the world. But the struggle is not yet wholly past. Many barriers of prejudice and formalism have yet to be broken down. Believing in the victory of truth, we view the present contest with formalism and ultra-liberalism as tending towards that happy result. God speed the right!

[The Reviewer takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Messrs. Williams and Norgate, Foreign Booksellers (London and Edinburgh), who, with the greatest readiness, have made arrangements which have much facilitated his researches.]



## Books Received.

- Agullar (Grace). Uniform Edition of Woman's Friendship, 4th edit., 349 pp.; Home Influence, 7th edit., 421 pp.; The Mother's Recompense, 5th edit., 532 pp.; Women of Israel, 3rd edit., 2 vols., 318 and 399 pp.; Home Scenes, 3rd edit., 418 pp.; The Days of Bruce, 500 pp.; The Vale of Cedars, 5th edit., 293 pp.; with portrait and illustrations. Groombridge & Sons.
- American Bible Union's Revised Version of the Holy Scriptures. Part III. Trübner & Co.
- Anti-Slavery Advocate for February. William Tweedie.
- Army (The): its Traditions and Reminiscences. By a Peninsular Officer. 70 pp. Metropol. Lit. Assoc.
- Bermuda, a Colony, a Fortress, and a Prison. By a Field-Officer. 286 pp. Longmans & Co.
- Bibliotheca Sacra, and American Biblical Repository, for January. Trübner & Co.
- Bretschneider's (Karl G.) Manual of Religion. 296 pp. Longmans & Co.
- British and Foreign Evangelical Review. No. XIX. James Nisbet & Co.
- Cassell's Illustrated History of England. Vol. I., 628 pp., and woodcuts. W. Kent & Co.
- Cui Bono?—Some of the Beneficial Results of the "Rivulet" Controversy. 23 pp. Tallant & Allen.
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